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 OR,
 BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER,
Being a SELECT COLLECTION of
 The LIVES at large
 Of the most EMINENT MEN,
Natives of Great Britain and Ireland;
 From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.
 Both inclusive. 261

Whether distinguished as
 Statesmen, | Warriors, | Poets,
 Patriots, | Divines, | Philosophers,
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 VOL. XII.



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T H E



Aveline
Earl of Huir.



T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
JOHN DALRYMPLE.

SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, earl of Stair, the eldest son of John, viscount, afterwards earl, of Stair, by the lady Elizabeth Dundas, daughter to Sir John Dundas of Newbliston, was born upon the twentieth of July, 1673; and, even while an infant, discovered such charms as prognosticated his future greatness. He mustered up a regiment of young boys of his own age, denominating them after his own name; and it was surprising to observe, in how short a time they were enabled to go through the several evolutions of the military exercise, while their alacrity,

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crity, when under the eye of their great commander, gave a sure prelude of that superior greatness of soul which afterwards appeared in him, and procured him both the confidence of his king and admiration of his country. Like another Cyrus, he discouraged every thing that was dastardly and unbecoming in the young gentlemen of his own age; and, with the utmost address, encouraged what was manly, becoming, and virtuous in them.

Scarce was he arrived at the age of ten years, when he made the most surprising progress in the Greek and Latin tongues; and, being well acquainted with these, the French became easy to him. He was trained up by a governor for some years, and then put to the college of Edinburgh under a guardian, where he had run through the whole course of his studies in that seminary at the fourteenth year of his age; and was designed by his father for the law; but, his genius being turned for the sword, he applied himself that way.

He left the college of Edinburgh in the year 1688, and went over to Holland ~~and there~~ he passed through the several degrees of preferment under the eye of that distinguished and august commander king William III. then prince of Orange, who shewed him great respect in the sight of his officers, and treated him with the tenderness of an affectionate father.

It was here that this noble lord learned fortification and gunnery, which he afterwards so well

well improved, under the eye of the famous Coehorn; and laid the foundation of that free and disinterested spirit which he breathed in every air, and practised in every clime, for the service of his country; and it was here that he learned several of the languages of Europe; such as, French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Dutch; every one of which he spoke in such purity, that one could not distinguish his dialect from that of a native of each country; and would have been tempted to think, he was born in the metropolis, which generally excells any other places of the kingdom wherein it stands, as much in the elegance of accent, as in the politeness of behaviour and fashion of their habit and dress.

At the time of the late glorious revolution, he came over to Scotland, and in so particular a manner laid down the hardships of the Protestants, as to draw compassion from all who heard him; and, by a just representation of the design of the house of Bourbon, which at that time he could so shrewdly guess at, confirmed those who were already engaged for the prince of Orange in the good opinion they had formed of his cause, and prevailed upon others to embark in the scheme. In a word, he did the most substantial services; for, being with his father and grandfather at the convention of the states, he seconded their arguments with the most nervous reasoning; and, like another Gustavus, moved the passions of the audience, who were charmed to see such a noble tender-

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ness and unaffected sympathy in a young man, whose gesture and mein commanded admiration from all who heard him.

He was among the first to declare for king William : and, with joy to receive the deliverer of the nation, went up, with his father, to London, where he was joyfully received, and taken into his majesty's service, whom he attended to Ireland, continued with him, as one of his life-guards, during all his military excursions in that kingdom ; and acted the most heroic part at that time that possibly could have been expected from the most enterprising officer. He also accompanied his majesty on his return to England, attended him while there, and set out with him at his majesty's departure for Holland on the sixth of January, 1691 ; but, as the winds proved contrary, the king was obliged to return to Kensington, where he stayed for some few days, till the breaking of the frost ; when he went to Gravesend, and, with a convoy of men of war, stood to the coast of Holland : where, coming off the Goree, he left the yacht wherein he was, went off with three shallops, in company with the duke of Ormond, the lord-steward, and lord-high-chamberlain, the earls of Portland and Monmouth, and mynheers Overkirk and Zuleskin : but, through the difficulties of the ice, that came down in shoals, and the fogginess of the weather, they remained at sea all night, but arrived at the
 the next morning.

Here

JOHN DALRYMPLE. 5

Here he took a small refreshment, and immediately again taking boat soon landed at Oramenhack, where he was met and complimented by the deputies of the states, and then passed to the Hague, where the populace raised the most joyful acclamations, while he entered through the triumphal arches erected in honour of the wonders he had done.

Never was prince more regaled than king William III. and never were those in the retinue of a king, among which Mr Dalrymple made a considerable figure, more caressed than those who attended the hero: nor were the states-general single in paying him their compliments; for ambassadors arrived from several courts in Germany, to congratulate him on his success, and to enter into new engagements with him for supporting of the liberties of Europe; to which they were animated by the lively representation made by his majesty, of the critical juncture of affairs; and came into the resolution of raising two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France; whereof twenty thousand were to be raised from the national British forces.

As these regiments were to be raised, his majesty conferred a colonel's commission upon this his faithful servant; with which he served under his great commander at the battle of Steenkirk, where the English bravery shone with the brightest lustre; for, though they could not force a camp fortified with hedges, and lined by cannon advantageously posted

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upon eminences, yet they cut off the flower of the French troops, with five hundred officers, who lay dead on the spot.

But, among those who engaged, none distinguished himself more than Mr. Dalrymple; he several times rallied his regiment, when the ranks were broken by the devouring cannon, and brought them back to the charge; performed miracles of bravery with them, and was instrumental in saving many troops from being cut in pieces, as he stopped the pursuit till they had time to rally and renew the attack.

Though the Allies were unsuccessful in Flanders, yet they carried all before them in the main. At La Hogue the French fleet was almost destroyed; and her trade, by means of several large captures taken from her, in a manner wholly ruined. At Landen there was a second battle; and, though it be true, that the king of England was obliged to yield the field to numbers, yet he had more glory than even if victory had crowned his standards. The misfortune of Landen, indeed, happened through the fault of a strange officer; but, could it be more gloriously, and more advantageously repaired, than by that admirable presence of mind, with which king William saved the rest of the army? In time of trouble, into which such disorders throw an ordinary general, people usually look upon the bringing the shattered remains of the routed army, who were saved in the fight, toward the frontiers
- of

of their own country, as an uncommon stroke of prudence; but this illustrious hero, whose views were always more extended, and more just than those of other men, made them rendezvous upon the borders of the enemy; favoured the retreat of his forces, fighting as he gave back more like a conqueror than like one that was vanquished; obliging, by this march and resolution, several princes of Germany to join their troops to his own; and commanded, some time after, at the famous siege of Namur; where fortune seconded so well his efforts for gaining the place, in sight of the whole French army, commanded by one of the most experienced officers of the time, that she deserved to be pardoned for the injustice of having abandoned him at the commencement of the campaign; and, as by her frowns she protracted the war, so by this one smile she ended it, to the honour and satisfaction of the Allies; and brought on the peace of Ryswick in 1695.

Short lived; however, was this repose after so long and terrible a commotion; for the flame of war was not extinguished, but only covered by some political ashes, that were thrown upon the heart of the grand monarch, who waited for a plausible pretext of setting fire to the coals, which seemed to be wholly quenched.

Charles II. who was then king of Spain, being in a very bad state of health, and having no male issue of his own body, was in

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great perplexity about settling the succession to his hereditary dominions. On the one hand, he preferred the interest of his own family to that of the house of Bourbon, from whom both he and his ancestors had received so many injuries; and was strongly solicited by his queen, who was sister to the empress, and by the ministers of the emperor, to dispose of his dominions in favour of the arch-duke Charles, his second son. On the other hand, the partisans of France, who were about his catholic majesty, were artfully insinuating to him, the expediency and advantage that would accrue to Spain in particular, and to the catholic religion in general, should the former be settled under the protection of the most Christian king.

The renunciations of his aunt and sister, the one mother, the other wife, to Lewis XIV: were demonstrated by them to be null by the laws of Spain; and, consequently, that the article of giving up all pretensions to the Spanish succession, in the partition-treaty, was, *ipso facto*, void to all intents and purposes; for, that no forms whatever were sufficient to alter the nature of things.

These arguments would have had but little force, if one more cogent had not been advanced; viz. That, as this point was dubious, there was fear of stirring up the greatest powers against one another; and, that this might be the instrument of much bloodshed: "For which," added these crafty statesmen, "you

“ you will be answerable at a higher tribunal, whether your guilt be contracted by delaying to set your house in order, or by a rash and unjust disposal of your dominions.”

These arguments much distracted the mind of the king, who had recourse to the usual way of those of the Romish communion ; viz. to ask the pope’s advice in this perplexed and intricate matter. The holy father, and his conclave of cardinals, determined in favour of France ; and the ministers of that court at Madrid, did all in their power to bring to perfection the darling project, of putting Spain, and the Indies, into the hands of their monarch : and, so artfully did they contrive the business, as, by large promises and well-placed sums, to gain over the principal favourites at court : some do not even scruple to say, that, when the will was presented to the Spanish monarch to be signed, in favour of the arch-duke Charles, a younger branch of the house of Austria, just when he was about to take the pen in his hand, some chicanery or other was made use of to cause him to turn about ; which while he did, another was instantly substituted in its place, and subscribed by him.

The Spanish monarch survived this last deed but a short time, for he died in about a fortnight after, on the first of November, 1700 ; and scarce was he dead when a letter was written by the regency, at the head of which was the artful cardinal Portocarre, in-

timating this settlement of succession to his most Christian majesty, who told the Spanish ambassador, the marquis de Castel dos Rios, that he was very sorry for the loss which Europe in general, and Spain in particular, had sustained by the loss of so great a king; and, though he had all possible intentions to gratify the wishes of the Spanish nation, in sending the duke of Anjou among them as their sovereign, according to their ardent desire, for which he heartily thanked them; yet the ticklish state of affairs of Europe, at that time, would not admit of making too hasty a step in so important an affair; but that, on every occasion, he was ready to promote the interest and glory of the Spanish nation.

The question, that had long been debated, Whether it was necessary to enter into war with France? was no longer doubtful: the thing was resolved on; and, in that same month, a grand alliance, defensive and offensive, was concluded between the emperor, the king, and the states general, in order effectually to thwart the designs of France, and obtain full satisfaction for each of the contracting parties.

Now had king William a fair opportunity of being avenged on the French monarch; for the British soldiers, who were but raw when he came to the throne, were now hardy veterans, and the officers had learned the art of war under that great commander: but Heaven was pleased to put an end to so valuable

ble a life upon the eighth of March, in the year 1702.

This sudden event gave a shock to the grand alliance; but yet did not prove so fatal as some at first imagined; because the army, though deprived of king William's presence, were yet actuated by his temper, and breathed nothing but a spirit of valour, in imitation of his glorious exploits.

Seven hours after the expiration of that deliverer of Europe, William III. of Orange and of England, the privy-council sat; and the queen, who was that very day proclaimed in London, gave them the strongest assurances, in a pathetic and moving speech, of her unalterable resolution to pursue the measures taken by her glorious predecessor. The members of the privy-council were continued, and king William's favourites were only preferred. The duke of Marlborough was appointed general of her forces by the late king's recommending him to her service as a man of a cool head and a warm heart, proper to encounter the genius of France, and put a stop to her designs of enslaving all Europe.

His grace was accordingly sent over to Holland, as ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary, with her letter to the states, condoling them upon the death of the king, and declaring her intentions to maintain all her alliances, preserve the peace of Europe, and reduce the power of France.

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The queen of England being crowned upon the twenty-third of April, 1702, immediately called a council; in which, after a full debate, it was agreed to declare war against France; and the resolution being afterwards approved by the commons, the same was proclaimed upon the fourth of May, with the usual solemnities.

The reasons assigned were principally these: The French king's keeping possession of all the Spanish dominions, seized upon Milan and the Netherlands, making himself master of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the ports in the Spanish East-Indies, by his fleets: and for offering so great an affront and indignity to the queen and her kingdoms, as to declare, jointly with Spain, then solely under his influence, the pretended prince of Wales, king of Great-Britain. The Dutch soon followed; and, for every side, there were the most unheard of preparations.

The prince of Nassau-Saalbruck opened the campaign with the siege of Keiserwaert, a small but strong town in the electorate of Cologne. This place cost a vast trouble before it fell into the hands of the besiegers; for, from the sixteenth of April, the elements on the one hand, and Tallard on the other, annoyed them so, that, though they had reduced the town to a heap of rubbish, and battered the outworks with forty-eight cannon and thirty mortars, yet, till the ninth of June, they
did

did not dare to attack it by storm ; but then they made a lodgment upon the counterscarp, notwithstanding a most desperate and obstinate resistance, which forced the besieged to give up the place on honourable terms, but the fort was razed according to agreement.

The taking of this place was matter of consternation to the French soldiery ; to recover them from which, marshal Boufflers, being joined by count Tallard and the duke of Burgundy's corps, marched off silently to Nimègue : and, notwithstanding the resolute behaviour of the inhabitants, who planted one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon on the walls, to give them a warm reception, he might have possessed himself of that key into the United Netherlands, had not the earl of Athlone, upon the first advice of this march, broke up, and, by a more hasty march than that of the enemy, arrived in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen half an hour before the French could get up, and so saved that important fortress.

Landau surrendered to prince Lewis of Baden, after a siege of three months, on the tenth of September ; and the French got a check before Hulst, while Sas Vangent, and many other places, with a surprising alacrity, and unwearied diligence, put themselves in a posture of defence.

This, with their disappointment at Nimeguen, so enraged the French, that they plundered the city of Cleves, and made the defenceless

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fenceless country feel the effects of their revenge; which was a little allayed by a prodigy of valour executed by the brave colonel Gravesteins, who, by a sudden march with three hundred horse, came up to reconnoitre the enemy; and, meeting a party of four hundred cavalry, he fell upon them, notwithstanding their fire, sabre in hand, and killed about half of their party. This action cost him six or seven wounds, the only price he paid for so great a treasure of applause.

Such was the state of the campaign when the duke of Marlborough, now declared master-general of the ordnance, arrived from England, in quality of ambassador, and captain-general, at the Hague; whence, after settling every thing, by conferences, in which his sentiments prevailed, even though contrary to the general voice of the assembly, he set out for the army, whose hearts he gained by a modest use of that power wherewith he was intrusted.

He soon saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, then encamped at Duckenbourg: where, in a council of war, it was resolved to march in pursuit of the enemy, who retreated as he advanced, and left the Confederates in possession of the Spanish Guelderland.

It was during this march, that the earl of Stair first contracted an intimacy with the duke of Marlborough; who, observing his alacrity and resolution, and the unbounded courage of
the

the most fiery foldier, mixed with the wisdom and conduct of the greyest hairs, became particularly fond of him ; and, though the duke, by a national prejudice, was not so fond of encouraging Scotsmen, yet true merit affected the heart of the hero where-ever it was to be found. He observed in Mr. Dalrymple, for that was the name under which he went, a bravery and courage equal to the most dangerous enterprizes, and, at the same time, a conduct capable of extricating himself from the most apparent difficulties.

From Petit-Brugel, where the French camp was, they were obliged to move on the approach of the Confederates. On the second of August, the army marched to demolish the walls of Peer and Bray, two small towns in the bishopric of Liege, which the enemy held for securing their convoys. They attacked the first of these places with a bravery only to be inspired by such officers as then had the command. Every officer and every soldier vied with each other in distinguishing himself under the eye of his august commander ; but none more than the noble gentleman whose life we are now writing ; for he, being made colonel of the Royal North British Dragoons, upon the ninth of March, 1702, endeavoured to raise the reputation of that regiment ; and, being sent to support a battery, he stood at the head of his regiment, for several hours, while the troops were falling on each hand of him, without the least alteration of countenance or

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desire to draw off, notwithstanding a furious cannonade from that quarter of the town.

Never was man more generous to the officers, or more popular among the soldiers, than he; for he so animated them by his example, by his motion and voice, that, after having made a sufficient breach in the walls, he marched up, sword in hand, amidst showers of fire and of smok; was the first to scale the ladder, with a drawn sword in one hand, and pistol in the other; awarded the blow of a grenadier, which was aimed at him, shot him dead on the spot, and mounted the wall, almost like another Alexander, when he leaped into the city of Oxidraques, single and alone. The troops soon followed so glorious an example, and crowded about their leader, then exposed to the fire, not only of the batteries, but of the small arms of the enemy, who, being driven from their posts in confusion, communicated the consternation among their comrades, who quickly deserted the town.

The news of the taking Peer was carried quickly through the army, which resounded the praises of the earl of Stair, until another action, no way more glorious, but of greater consequence in the event, effaced the memory of that most surprising exploit.

A very lucky circumstance happened for raising the reputation of our noble hero; for, as the English soldiers, in general, were discontented with the Dutch, for opposing the duke of Marlborough's proposal to engage the French,

French, which at once might have ended the war, they were the more enraged when they saw what prodigies he had wrought by his bravery and conduct; and reasoned thus: "What could not an army of soldiers like these have done in the open field, since barricadoes, pallisadoes, ditches, lunettes, ravelines, placed in the most due proportion from one another, built in the most commodious manner for their mutual defence, and planted with rows of devouring cannon, were unable to sustain their charge?"

Whether this reasoning was unjust or no, I leave to others to determine, and shall only observe, that every colonel in the confederate army, must not be supposed to have equalled the conduct and intrepidity of the immortal earl of Stair.

The undaunted courage shewn by his regiment upon this occasion, threw a damp upon the French army; and, though secured by morasses and entrenchments, and superior in numbers, they refused to wait the coming up of the Allies, but silently decamped in the night; while the duke of Burgundy, ashamed of that inactivity, which ended so ingloriously for him, repaired to Versailles, leaving the command to marshal Boufflers, who was only dextrous in commanding a flying camp, bombarding a city, or seizing a post by surprise.

The Dutch army, who, before the coming of the duke of Marlborough, were obliged to retreat

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retreat under the cannon of Nimeguen, saw the enemy now flying in their turn, and avoiding a battle with as much care as the duke was eager to engage them, either flying precipitately before him, or posting themselves behind places that were inaccessible. They decamped on the eighteenth of August, in order to secure the navigation of the Maese, by driving the enemy from their fortresses, and so relieving Maestricht, then almost blocked up.

There is a very strong town in the territory of Ruremond, in Spanish Guelderland, called Venlo, situated on the edge of an island formed by the confluence of the Maese with the little rivulet Haven ; it lies near the little rivulet of Juliers, ten miles south-west of Gueldres, and eleven north of Ruremond. To this place did the Allies bend their course ; sat down before it on the twenty-fifth ; and opened their trenches, on both sides the Maese, on the the twenty-seventh, without losing a man ; having planted their batteries of sixty four cannons, twenty-four mortar pieces and howitzers, and a vast number of Coehorn-mortars.

As the place was well stored with provisions, and the count de Varo, the governor, was resolved on a vigorous defence, the siege went on but slowly, till the 7th of September, when the Lord Cutts attacked fort St. Michael, between the bastion which is next the plain, and the ravelin which lies on the north side
of

of it. He had under him the Royal Irish then commanded by Mr Stair, general Henkcom's regiment, with one hundred and seventy-two grenadiers, and one hundred fusiliers, under a lieutenant-colonel; as also three hundred workmen, with a competent number of engineers. The grenadiers, animated by the promises of that brave lord, cleared the counterscarp with their fire; avoided a mine, attacked the ravelin sword in hand, and made a dreadful slaughter. The way being now paved out, his lordship marched up with all his forces, engaged the enemy, and soon became master of the ravelin; but their possession of it was far from being quiet or peaceable, for the French fired incessantly from the rampart of the fort; on which the grenadiers threw in their grenades, attacked the fort sword in hand, and drove the enemy from it so hastily, that they had not time to break down their bridges, though supported by their grenadiers, who hotly disputed it, by fire and push of pike, from the flank of one of their battions. They quickly were in possession of the place, and begun a dreadful havock, it being almost impossible to check the fury of the soldiers for some time. The troops of the fort, to the number of six hundred, were either killed or drowned, except eighty, who passed the Maese in small boats, and so escaped with their lives.

Never was a bolder action in any campaign; never did officers and soldiers act with
more

more intrepidity: but, of them all, none signalized himself more than Mr. Stair. He was the first to climb up the rampart, and force his way into the fort; and, no sooner was he on the wall, than he flew into the thickest ranks of the enemy, killing and wounding all who came near him. Several others, such as the earl of Huntington, the duke of Argyle, and Lord Mark Ker, gave most convincing proofs of their bravery. Four days after, the news of the surrender of Landau being brought to the camp, great rejoicings were made: the soldiers drew up in order of battle, and a triple discharge from their cannon and small arms was made; which being taken by the besieged for a signal of a general attack, the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered the place, upon condition of being conducted to Antwerp, with their arms and baggage, but without any cannon or mortars, on which they insisted at first; but gave up that last point. During this siege, which lasted four weeks, the besieged lost as many men as the besiegers, but more commissioned officers. The French, to make amends for their loss of Venlo, marched to Hult; but were so much galled by the cannon of the fort of the Great Kykuyt, that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of six hundred men.

But, though the French miscarried in their designs, yet the duke of Marlborough always carried his point; Ruremond and Stevenswaert surrendered by capitulation, in sight of
 marshal

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marshal Boufflers and the whole French army. These conquests, though considerable in themselves, were not sufficient to satisfy the active soul of his grace, who immediately resolved upon the bombarding of Liege, to which he moved at the head of the Confederate army; and, in his way, having notice of the place where marshal Boufflers designed to be one day at Loon, he marched so early as to be at the place before him; and, in all probability, the whole troops under that general must have been cut to pieces, or taken, they being within shot of their enemy 'ere they were aware, had not the Dutch, a second time, rejected the proposal of fighting: and, as the French decamped by favour of the night, so the Allies marched, about one in the morning, from their post at Souleendale, to Liege, on the first of October; and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, came within cannon shot of the citadel. About sun-set, the troops were so formed, as effectually to block up the town, in which were twelve battalions of foot, fifty pieces of cannon and mortars mounted, with plenty of ammunition, and all other necessities.

The town quickly fell into the hands of the conqueror; for the magistrates surrendered on condition that the citadel should not be attacked on the side of the city, in order to prevent its being entirely destroyed. The keys were delivered into the duke of Marlborough's own hands; and, on the 7th, the trenches were

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were opened before the great citadel, by four English battalions on the right, one of which was commanded by the deceased lord; and by a like number of the troops of the United Provinces.

That very evening the Allies attacked the enemy's entrenchments, which they forced and maintained. Two days after, the batteries being mounted with forty-four cannon and twelve mortars, furiously played upon the citadel, and blew up a magazine of the enemies, in which were one thousand bombs and grenades, with several barrels of powder. Next day they not only set on fire another magazine, in which were six hundred grenades ready filled, but dismounted the batteries of the enemy: and, on the third day, two more magazines were set on fire by the bombs. In the evening some small mortars and grenades, the invention of M. Coehorn, played with a success unprecedented till that time.

That great engineer, having observed the breach made by the batteries, advised the duke of Marlborough to attack the counterscarp that afternoon; which proposal being accepted, the battalions who opened the trenches began the attack, about four o'clock, under cover of the cannon which had blown up four magazines. They marched boldly up to the breach, not firing, though highly provoked to it, till within pistol-shot of the counterscarp, which they attacked with a fury that obliged the enemy to retire; and, ob-
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-serving their consternation, they got upon the covered way, passed the ditch, mounted the breach at once and took the place sword in hand.

It is impossible to describe the resolution of the Allies, but, particularly, the British troops, upon this occasion. The prince of Hesse Cassel, afterwards king of Sweden, voluntarily headed the grenadiers, was the first to mount the breach, and wrest the colours from a French officer; and here it was that this generous hero first contracted an intimacy with the deceased lord, of whose intrepidity and valour he had been an eye-witness, and to whom he was indebted for the preservation of his valuable life: for, as his highness mounted, an officer was upon the point of cutting him through with a sabre, and infallibly he must have died there, and so would have had no opportunity of adorning the Swedish nation, had he not been rescued by the earl of Stair, who shot the officer dead upon the spot, with a pistol that was tied about him by a cord. The little fort of the Chartreuse was quickly surrendered to the victorious Allies, who only lost one hundred and forty-three soldiers killed, and three hundred and sixty wounded, with about twenty officers of note. This was indeed a loss to the Allies, but a small price for so important a place and so glorious a conquest; upon which medals were struck, to perpetuate the fame of so noble an action.

In

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In short, so similar were the mutual abilities and success of these two great generals, the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, in their succeeding campaigns, that the French were every where so much baffled, that, except in Spain, where they took Tortosa and Alicant, fortune did not so much as smile upon them throughout either; so that the miseries under which they groaned, drove them to the necessity of suing for peace almost upon any terms whatsoever.

As the duke of Marlborough had been detained in the Low-Countries, on account of some proposals made for peace on the part of the French, so he did not arrive in England till the twenty-fifth of February, 1709; when he was attended by several of the nobility, among whom was the earl of Stair, whose acquaintance was now universal, and enabled him to share very much in all the entertainments of the court.

His grace was now complimented by the House of Lords; but this mighty Hosanna was turned quickly into Crucify; which might be owing to the death of prince George of Denmark, who died upon the twenty-eighth of October, to the excessive grief of the queen; to whom he was the most loving husband, besides a guardian and father to the nation in general.

Her majesty was so much grieved for the loss of her beloved consort, that she could not

go to the house on the sixteenth of November, when the parliament met ; but appointed commissioners to open the same in her name.

• The first comfort that ever she had, was, when she saw the duke come in, attended by the earl of Stair ; and, on looking upon him, she recollected a saying of her royal husband in his favour, and burst forth into tears ; and indeed it was no wonder, for he directed and guided her so well in the management of her affairs, that much of the success of the campaign was owing to him.

In April, the Allies took the castle of Pionguville and Mortaigne, and made the enemy fly before them ; after which they invested Doway on the twenty-second, and opened trenches before it upon the twenty-fourth, carrying on the siege with great vigour till the twenty-ninth, when the garrison made a sally, but were driven back by general M^cKartney to the very counterscarp of the place. On the twelfth of May they sallied out again, but were driven back, by colonel Preston, in the greatest disorder ; and, on the seventeenth, a little horn-work was taken in the front of their approaches, with very small loss.

Next day another sally was attempted ; but, on the approach of the earl of Stair, who had come from Warsaw on purpose to confer with the duke of Marlborough concerning the measures to be taken with the Swedes, they retired with the utmost precipitation.

He continued with his grace till the twenty-sixth, acting as a volunteer in most of the attacks ; when he was, by a special commission from the queen, on account of his merit, made a knight of the noble order of the thistle.

His lordship was introduced into the room appointed for the ceremony by the marquis of Harwich ; and, being on his knees, supported by the earls of Orrery and Orkney, he received the ensigns of the order from the duke of Marlborough, who put the ribbon and medal about his neck ; tendered the oath and statutes to him in presence of many general officers, to whom he afterwards gave a grand entertainment, and appeared more than usually satisfied with what he had done.

As the business would not permit the earl to continue any longer at the siege, he again set out for Warsaw, with full power to act as he should see cause ; and, at the same time, with positive injunctions to inform the king of Poland how much the duke of Marlborough had his interest at heart.

As it is not our business to enter minutely into an account of what happened in Poland during the embassy of this noble lord, we shall only observe, that king Augustus entered closely into an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, against the king of Sweden ; and, that these, with the czar, harassed his troops, and attacked them on every quarter, though sometimes they were made to smart for their procedure ; witness the battles of Hel-sinburgh,

Linburgh, in 1711, and Gadebush, in 1713, where the famous marshal Saxe learned his first rudiments of war. It is true, indeed, these brave troops, who had gained so much glory in these actions with general Steinbock, were made prisoners afterwards ; and the unfortunate king of Sweden, in the year 1714, returned to his dominions, then desolate and almost ready to receive the conqueror : but, to return to the earl of Stair,

He was all this time at Warsaw in the closest friendship and correspondence with his Polish majesty, who sometimes did him the honour to dine at his house ; and one day the king, who had a surprising dexterity added to an incredible strength of body, being at dinner, took one of the silver plates in his hand and folded it up like a piece of tin ; but correcting his mistake, he begged of the British ambassador to be excused ; “ For,” said he, “ I was thinking upon something.” His excellency accepted his apology, and returned the compliment with all the sweetness and grace that could be shewn from such an ambassador to so great a king.

One other day, his Polish majesty and he being pretty familiar, the former took up a sword in his hand, with which he made some flourishes, and caused the blade to spring from the handle ; and told the earl, that he never saw a sword but he could use in that manner.

Thus he continued for four years, in which time he contracted an acquaintance with the

most part of the foreign ambassadors, and framed to himself a clear idea of the interests of the several courts in the north. He is thought; by some, to have been the first who, by means of the duke of Marlborough, projected the renunciation of Bremen and Verden, on the part of the king of Denmark, in favour of King George I. and, as this was an additional jewel to his majesty's German dominions, so it was afterwards the very means by which Sweden was saved, as one million of crowns were granted by king George I. to that kingdom, and a powerful fleet sent up the Baltic to stop the incursions of the Russians, and to bring about a peace, which was afterwards actually done.

He was called home in the year 1713, when he was stripped of all his employments; and, having lived very splendidly at Warsaw, he contracted some debts which, at that time, lay heavy upon him. His plate and equipage were ready to be arrested; and perhaps would have been exposed to sale, if one Mr. Lawson, who was a lieutenant in the Cameronian regiment, had not generously granted him a loan of one thousand eight hundred pounds; and it is hard to say, whether Mr. Lawson's goodness or the earl of Stair's gratitude, ever after, was most to be admired.

He now returned from court to his own estate; thus following the fate of his patron the duke of Marlborough, who had been
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served in the same manner about two years before.

Queen Anne dying on the first of August, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign, the elector of Hanover, king George I. was crowned, with all possible magnificence and splendor, surrounded by his particular favourites, whose disgraces formerly now made them appear with a brighter lustre. Among the number of those received into his favour was the earl of Stair, who, upon the twenty eighth of October, was appointed one of the lords of his bedchamber; next day was sworn one of his privy-council; and, in November, was made commander in chief of all his forces in Scotland: and, indeed, he added an additional lustre to these places which he filled.

The nation, in general, were well pleased with the arrival of king George; and, generally, the favourites of the duke of Marlborough were chosen to represent the counties and boroughs in the parliament that was summoned to meet on the seventeenth of March, 1715: and, in Scotland, the opposers of the former ministry prevailed: and the earl of Stair, tho' absent, was, upon the third of this month, unanimously chosen as a representative in the first Septennial parliament.

Upon the king's accession to the throne, ambassadors were sent to several powers of Europe; and, as the French court was both the most splendid, and her intrigues the most dan-

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gerous, a person of spirit, of a sound mind in a sound body ; one of an enterprising genius, of a polite taste and deep penetration, was to be dispatched to her. The person thought of by the duke of Marlborough, and by the king himself, was the lord Stair ; who, on his being introduced to his royal master, was complimented on his prudent management in Poland and desired to behave as he should see occasion.

He set out for Paris in January, 1715, and, in a few days after, entered that capital, in so splendid a manner, that the other ambassadors admired him, while old Lewis himself looked upon it as a banter upon him in his capital ; and, to speak conscientiously, as every historian ought to do, according to his light, how could he do otherwise ? for, lo ! an ambassador from a prince, whom, some few months ago, he had actually desired should be degraded from the honour of an elector in the empire, raised to a throne, little inferior at any time, but now much more splendid than his own : lo ! this ambassador making a more brilliant appearance than any of the same station ever did before ; and yet nothing when compared to his public entry in the year 1719, when he complimented his late majesty on his mounting the throne, the manner of which we shall afterwards set down for the amusement of our readers.

He was not many days here before an opportunity offered of distinguishing his rare abilities,

lities, and confirming his master in the good opinion formed of him, and increasing the fears of the French king, who had heard of his character, and was even chagrined at his conduct for the short time he had resided at his court.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht it was expressly stipulated, That the harbour of Dunkirk should be filled up; and, that the dykes, which form the canal and moles, should be destroyed.

There was indeed a pretended execution of this article, but nothing like fulfilling of the treaty, as easily occurred to any person that viewed it; yea, further than this, the grand monarch had ordered a haven and canal to be made at Mardyke, which were much more capacious than those of Dunkirk itself. Mr. Prior, the former ambassador, had complained of it, upon the twelfth of October before, and insisted that the treaty should be fulfilled. An answer, full of the most evasive arguments, was drawn up; but the same was far from being satisfactory, and, as the matter still continued open, his excellency, the earl of Stair, on the fifth of February, laid a clear representation of the matter before the French ministry; in which he demonstrated, that the works, according to the treaty, ought to be destroyed by mens hands, and not left to the washings of time, or encroachments of the sea, which every thing was subject to. He set forth, that it was inconsistent, in the nature of things,

to think that the haven was demolished, while another was built in its neighbourhood which might prove more detrimental to the commerce of the British subjects than Dunkirk itself. He pointed out a way how the water might be drained, without overflowing the country, as they pretended, and that with little trouble or expence; and then demanded such an answer as might be satisfactory to his master and his subjects, and prevent the bad effects which might be the result of a contrary conduct.

To this it was answered, That all imaginable forwardness had been shewn, on the part of the most Christian king, exactly to fulfil the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht, till hindered by the English commissaries themselves; that the canal, which he was obliged to open, for preventing the submersion of a vast extent of country, and saving the lives of its inhabitants, ought to give no umbrage to Great Britain, since his inclination was not to keep fleets there for disturbing the navigation and commerce of his neighbours; and, that he desired nothing more than that France and Great Britain should unite in the strictest bands of correspondence and friendship.

Thus did the French answer the plainest reasoning, and elude the force of the most notorious facts; and even gave out, that they intended to live in harmony with the king of Great-Britain, while, in the mean time, they were meditating an invasion in favour of the pretender to his crown.

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The old French king easily foresaw, how much the system of affairs in England would be altered by the removal of a sweet tempered princess, who was ready, by delusive arguments, to give into the most destructive schemes; with real grief did he at the same time observe, that the prince upon earth whom he most feared, had mounted the throne of that kingdom, which he ever inclined to have dependent upon him as his own; and, to create him as much trouble as possible, did he encourage the old chevalier, who published a declaration, superscribed James R. dated August 29, 1714, in French, Latin, and English, setting out his claim to the crown of these realms.

The paper was handed about, and, on the thirteenth of November, some of them being sent to the dukes of Argyle and Marlborough, who delivered them to the king, a proclamation was emitted, for suppressing tumults and insurrections, and for preventing conspiracies, which, at that time began to be feared; and a premium of one hundred thousand pounds was set upon the head of the pretender, if he should land, or attempt to land, in any of the king's dominions.

This was the state of affairs in Britain, till the meeting of the parliament, on the seventeenth of March, 1715; when his majesty, being seated on his throne, caused the lord-chancellor to read his first speech; in which, after thanking them for their zeal in defence

On the protestant succession, he observed, That the unparalleled success of the late war had not been attended with a suitable conclusion: the pretender was still in Lorrain, and boasted of assistance to repair his former misfortunes. He told them, That a great part of their trade was impracticable; and their public debts, which were great, had surprisingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms: and, that he had paid off a great number of ships for the ease of his people.

He concluded with recommending harmony among themselves; and declared, That he should judge those his best friends, who should assist him in promoting the happiness of his people.

Both houses of parliament made suitable returns of gratitude to this most excellent speech of the king; complied with all his desires: gave him the strongest assurances of their loyalty; and expressed their amazement, that the pretender to his crown should be permitted to reside so near his dominions.

This intelligence about the designs of the pretender was owing to the earl of Stair, who spared no pains or cost to find out his plots and contrivances. He kept the most splendid house in Paris, next to that of the king; and having with him his countess and her daughter, both ladies of the greatest honour and politeness, he was visited by the principal lords and ladies, whom he would entertain with all possible elegance; and, after keeping them, perhaps till
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ten o'clock at night, he would pretend business, and leave the company to the care of his lady, withdraw to his room, undress himself, and repair to the coffee-houses incognito; and, by a dextrous method of conversation, find out the secrets of the day.

It was in one of these excursions that he was informed of the pretender's being at court; for one Mr. Mackdonald, of Clanranald's family, who knew very well the design, judging, that the gentleman with whom he conversed, viz. the earl of Stair, was as great a Jacobite as himself declared the whole that he knew of the matter; and, at the same time informed him of the dress which he wore, and the time he generally appeared.

Next day the earl went to the palace, and saw the chevalier in the same dress that Mackdonald had described him. He therefore went immediately to pay a visit to the duke of Lorraine's ambassador, and conversed pretty seriously with him: but that nobleman was either unacquainted with his design, or else, from a political turn, he spoke so ambiguously that nothing could be learned from him.

After this, he went to pay a visit to the lady of the duke de Villars, hoping, by her means, to get information of him. He was received by that noblewoman entirely *ala mode de Paris*; and, being invited to take a hand at backgammond with her and some other ladies, he, designedly, allowed them to gain; by which means their spirits became highly ele-

vated, and they talked with but little reserve.

The subject of the conversation then turned upon the enquiry into the conduct of the late British ministry; and, at last, they talked of the old chevalier. The dutchess of Villars had but a mean opinion of him, and spoke of him rather in a geering manner, than as one who sympathized with his case; and at last said, That she believed, ere long, another trial would be made in favour of the poor fugitive.

This was but the beginning of that admirable policy which afterwards he discovered for the support of his king and preservation of his country. By his charming address, and manly behaviour, he procured the esteem of his court; all who saw him loved him, though no way concerned in him: the whole nobles admired him without envy, and his enemies dreaded him without hatred of his person. He became acquainted with the whole members of the ministry; by whom he was regaled for the brightness of his genius, his majestic mein, his lovely and amiable countenance, and, what was more than all, for his instructive discourses, and his surprising judgment, when talking of the art of war. He was too quick sighted not to observe a general devastation in France, where famine, hunger, and discontent were to be read in the faces of all the populace.

The miserable state of the body of France was not, however, an observation only of the earl of Stair's, but also of all the great men of their nation, whom he frequently invited to his house, and seldom or never dismissed them without some present or other. He complimented several of them with a set of fine horses of the Galloway breed ; presented the princess of the blood, and the great men of the court, with two of these at a time ; and would merrily say, That he thought no man should pretend, in a foreign country, to make presents of any thing but what was the product of his own.

By this dextrous management he got notice of all the intrigues at court ; and scarce was there any thing, relating to Britain, transacted in the cabinet of Versailles, but it was known at the court of Britain as soon as a courier could arrive with the news. But, though, by this means, he had the most perfect intelligence, yet he did not think the matter entirely safe, till he had one of the lords of the council in his actual pay. The method he took with him was this :

He agreed with him for a sum, which was to be augmented in proportion to the importance of the intelligence which he gave ; and at the same time it was settled, that every night a packet, with a certain seal, should be sent to his house, or to the coffee-house which he appointed.

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The scheme took extremely well ; for, as his lordship paid in the most liberal manner, not one thing happened in the cabinet, but was drawn forth and presented before him. All the plans for bringing in the chevalier were divulged from time to time ; and trusty messengers, among whom was the brave captain Gardner, were dispatched with them : so that the French king was astonished to hear, that king George, on the twentieth of July, had informed his parliament, that a design was carrying on to invade his dominions in favour of the pretender to his crown. He was at a loss how to behave ; but, being informed of the many expresses dispatched by the earl of Stair, he sent for him, and told him pretty roundly, That he was well assured of frequent dispatches he sent to his court ; and, at the same time, disguised the matter so far as to say,

“ This can be from no other motive, but to apprize your king of my bad state of health, which is far from being what you may apprehend ; for, if you come to my palace to-morrow, you shall see me eat a fowl as heartily as ever I did in my life-time.”

Next day his lordship came to court, and saw the old king at dinner for the last time that ever he publicly appeared. The sickly monarch was very languid, and bore in his visage the evident marks of an approaching dissolution ;

tion; and, for some time, seeming to disgust the nicest dainties, till, casting his eyes upon the earl of Stair, who, to use the words of the eminent doctor Dodderidge,

“ Was very disagreeable to that crafty and tyrannical prince, he affected to appear in a much better state of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened from some deep riverie, he immediately put himself up into an erect posture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and eat much more heartily than was by any means advisable; repeating it two or three times to a nobleman, I think the duke of Bourbon, then in waiting, ‘ Methinks I eat very well for a man that is to die so soon.’ ”

“ But this inroad upon that regularity of living, which he had for some time observed, agreed so ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in less than a fortnight after.”

This event happened on the first of September, 1715; when he left such advice to his great grandson, that, had it been followed, would have proved his own happiness, as well as that of the nations around him; which was, not to imitate him in three things: viz. The passion he had entertained, for the enlargement and aggrandizing of his dominions; in his attachment to pleasure; and in excessive and useless expences, to the desolation of his subjects;

jects : and with these, or such like, expressions, did he close a life that had been spent in the pursuits of luxury, of ambition, and of triumph.

The death of old Lewis, whom the French historians compare to Augustus Cæsar, and are at a loss what eulogiums to give him, would have dashed the Pretender's scheme to pieces, if it had not been cherished at home : for, as an enquiry was carrying on against the former ministry, upon whom treasons and misdemeanors were charged, their friends thought proper to divert the trial, by carving out work from another quarter. Among those who sided with the late ministry was John earl of Mar, a nobleman bred up in all the principles of the Revolution, to which he firmly adhered, except in the instance of excursion I am soon to relate. He was Secretary of State at the time of the Union, was one of the commissioners for concluding of it, and had continued in parliament, as a representative, till this very time ; nay, so strenuously did he promote, and afterwards support it, that, when speaking of any thing which he insisted could not be altered, his usual phrase was, " You may as well dissolve the Union." This man was, however, very cunning and politic ; and so much did he delight in acting the part of a statesman, that his itch after this had the preference to all his desires. He had been intimate with the earl of Oxford (who was then in prison) and was supposed to have been

been privy to all his secrets, which, if once found out, must prove fatal to himself; therefore, to deliver his friend from his captivity, did he think of raising a rebellion. Oxford, who was very well attached to the Hanoverian succession (as, indeed, was the earl of Mar, who was much disgusted for his disappointment at the election of the Scottish representatives in parliament, in March before) liberally furnished him with money for stirring up the confusion. These two great politicians easily foresaw that the thing would not do; all they wanted by it was, to obtain their own safety, to screen themselves from a parliamentary enquiry, and, by suppressing the insurrection, to secure the constitution the more. Two years after Oxford was arraigned before his peers; but they and the commons differing about the method of procedure, he was dismissed from their bar.

The earl of Mar was at no loss to find out engines, whom he could very easily move by the springs of his political views; and, lest he should be suspected, because, in this, he was acting contrary to all his former principles, nay, and to his solemn protestations of loyalty to king George; he brought over some young unexperienced noblemen, such as the Earls Marishal and Strathmore, the marquis of Tullibardin and Huntley; and, meeting them privately at Bracmar, he talked of the scheme, and, by his insinuations, soon made an impression upon their minds, which
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were ready to receive the first that was offered.

Having got these noblemen to keep him in countenance, he was assured of being joined by a considerable army, and that was, by the M'Donalds of Slate, of Clanranald, Glengary, Keppoch, and Glenco, by the Camerons, the M'Leans, M'Grigors, M'Kinnons, M'Phersons, M'Intoshes, and many others; and though he looked with as much disdain on these tumultuous people (who have proved rebels to most of the Scots kings) as any man in Britain, yet he made use of them to answer his own, and his patron's designs. These people, who have little more to do with the British constitution than so many Moscovites or Tartars, immediately arose, to dethrone a king whom they had addressed but a few months before, with the most solemn protestations of loyalty, and had assured of their attachment to his interest; and, gathering strength as they advanced, there was soon mustered up an army of ten thousand men, Scots and English included, to favour the cause of the Chevalier, whose standard was set up, September 6th, at Braemar, his declarations published, and he, in the mean time, proclaimed.

The news of this insurrection was most surprising at court: but, as a man does not, upon seeing an house on fire, set himself to enquire into the cause of the flame, but rather to extinguish it; so the government immediately

ately dispatched the duke of Argyle, then lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Scotland, to suppress the rebellion. He quickly recruited the regiments which had been diminished by the king for the ease of his people, and had got together an army of three thousand three hundred and fifty regular forces, besides the Glasgow and other militia, by the 13th of November, when he attacked the rebels on Sheriff muir, to prevent their crossing the Forth. The Highlanders came, with their usual fury, upon the left wing, which was not well formed, and the horses, which were young, falling a capering on the first fire, turned and trod down their own foot, who fled off in the greatest confusion, and were pursued, with a terrible slaughter, even to Dumblain: but, while this was doing upon the left, the right of the king's troops broke the left of the enemy, who hurried along with them upwards of six thousand, and pursued them to the water of Allan, making a dreadful havock, as they several times endeavoured to rally, and return to the charge. The scene here was very confused, for, while some were striving to form, others betook themselves to inclosures, and cried out they were forced; which his grace hearing, he commanded Evans's dragoons to stop, just when they had surrounded them, and were ready to cut them in pieces, ordering a trumpet to sound, informing them, that they were allowed to return home, on condition they should lay down their

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their arms; which was immediately complied with. On his grace's return, he was astonished to see a number of highlanders drawn up, upon a rising ground, betwixt him and Dumblain; nor, indeed, were the others less astonished, to see the royalists return from the chace: both held a council of war, where the question was, Attack the enemy, or not? The duke of Argyle was for the former; but sir Robert Hay told him, that his soldiers and horses were fatigued, and his ammunition spent; whereas the rebels were recruited with the arms of the wing that had been broke: that the business of the Royalists was, to get betwixt them and Stirling, that key into the west and north. This salutary advice being approved, the duke directed his march, with his victorious troops, below the field of battle, while the enemy were spectators of it. Here was in them the most unaccountable insatiation, or else the earl of Mar acted the most political part. The clans in general, with the earl marshal's horse, and several of the boldest of the left wing that had been broke, declared such eagerness to attack, that scarcely authority itself could restrain them; for they were fired with revenge, as Clanranald, whom they admired, with the earl of Strathmore, was lying dead before them. Glenngary said to Mar, By G—d you never will have such an opportunity of them again: to which his lordship answered, " You are mistaken; consider that night is coming on; the flower of the
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king's troops are only here, and I do not chuse too much to expose them." By these soothing expressions they were hindered from catering upon another action; in case of which, I am far from pretending to determine who would have been the conqueror. At night they marched back to their camp, and, next day, the Royalists appeared on the field of battle, ready to engage; but the clans, now disheartened, had no stomach to advance towards them. Such was the action at Sherriff-muir, in which the Royalists lost above five hundred men, among whom, was the brave earl of Forfar; whom the rebels taking for the duke of Argyle, hacked almost to pieces. The rebels lost full as many, and the remainder were quite disheartened at their disappointment.

Among the regiments who distinguished themselves in the cause of their country, was the earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons; for, at the head of that corps, animated by the spirit of their colonel, and Evans's dragoons, did his grace first break through the left of the rebel army, and snatched out of their hands an advantage, which, for some time, they judged themselves possessed of. From this time there was no further motion, till Candlemas, when his grace set out for Perth, to beat up the quarters of the Pretender; who had landed at Peterhead, on the 25th of December, with the marquis of Tinmouth, and a few officers: he, with the remainder of the shattered troops that appeared for him, fled before

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before the king's forces, leaving his men at Montrose, without any ceremony, embarked in a small sloop for France, where he safely arrived. Nor went his affairs in England better than in Scotland ; for the noblemen of the Roman catholic religion, who were joined by brigadier M'Intosh, and the earls of Carnwath, Wintoun, and Nithisdale, were all made prisoners upon the very day of the action at Dumblain, upon none other terms but, that they should not be cut in pieces till the king's pleasure was known.

The regiment of the earl of Stair was not more active in the field of Dumblain, for breaking the rebel battalions, than his lordship was in France, for defeating any attempts that might be made to assist them; and the distinct accounts, which are contained in the following Memorials, will easily convince any person, both of his lordship's assiduity and zeal for the interest of his country, and of his using the methods we formerly mentioned for procuring intelligence.

Lord Stair's Memorial to the Regent.

THE underwritten earl of Stair, minister of Great Britain to his most Christian majesty, finds himself obliged to represent to his royal highness, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, That, notwithstanding his royal highness has frequently assured the said earl, that
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he would faithfully and punctually observe the articles of peace made between Great-Britain and France at the treaty of Utrecht ; that he would not permit either arms, ammunition, officers, or soldiers, to be transported out of France for the service of the pretender : and, although, in conformity to these intentions, his royal highness had even sent express orders to all the ports and havens of the kingdom, it is certain, nevertheless, that the several particulars before enumerated, are every day transported from the harbours of France, without the least obstruction whatsoever from those who command in the said ports on the part of his most Christian majesty.

The late duke of Ormond, and the pretender, have been frequently on board certain vessels at St. Malo, which were known to be loaded with ammunition and arm for the pretender's service ; and this with so little reserve or circumspection, that they were publicly attended and followed by a troop of Nugent's horse, commanded by their proper officers, all mounted in their regimental cloaths and accoutrements; and this without the least check from his most Christian majesty's officers commanding at St. Malo.

The pretender, not thinking it proper to venture himself to sea at this juncture, took the road towards Normandy, in order to embark at Dunkirk ; and the late duke of Ormond, in the same manner, declining to land in England, came back to Morlaix.

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When the pretender was gone to Scotland, attended by the above-mentioned troopers of Nugent's regiment, his royal highness was pleased to promise the underwritten minister, that he would treat them as deserters, if ever they returned to France ; and the marshal d'Uxelles at the same time assured the said earl, that he would hang them all, without distinction.

These foldiers are now returned, and have joined their regiment. Monsieur Besach, and his company, remain, to this very hour, at Morlaix, as also the arms and ammunition that he had with him for his intended expedition ; which being removed out of one ship into another, in the harbour of Morlaix, the commanding officer there was so far from confiscating the said arms and ammunition, that he even refused to search the vessel, tho' he was desired so to do by captain Campbell, commander of an English ship, which yet remains in that port.

Within five weeks past, several vessels have sailed from Dieppe and Havre de Grace, with arms and ammunition, officers and money, for the pretender's service ; all which are actually arrived in Scotland : and, to be more particular, there sailed a vessel from Havre de Grace, on the seventeenth of this month, in the face of an officer belonging to the king of Great-Britain ; who having represented to the marquis of Rouvray, that there lay, at that time, both in Havre de Grace and at Harfleur,

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at least twenty officers, ready to follow the pretender into Scotland, on board the said vessel, and begged him to prevent their embarking: the marquis replied, That what he said might be very true; but, that he could not prevent their going on board, having no orders from court for that purpose.

The said earl of Stair has also frequently represented, both to his royal highness the regent, and the mareschal d' Huxelles, that several generals, colonels, and other officers, then actually engaged in the service of France, were determined to go and join the rebels in Scotland. The said earl went so far as even to give the mareschal d' Huxelles a list of the said generals and other officers, who, agreeable to the said earl's representation, are now actually at Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and other places in that neighbourhood, ready to transport themselves with the first opportunity into Scotland, from whence they have been hitherto detained by nothing but the excessive cold of the season and contrary winds; the commanding officers in the said places openly avowing, that they have received no orders to prevent their embarkation.

The earl of Stair finds it his duty to represent these facts to the duke regent, to the end that his royal highness may himself determine, whether his orders have been executed with punctuality; and, whether it may be thought in Great-Britain, that the treaty of Utrecht

has been faithfully complied with on the part of France.

The aforesaid earl of Stair finds himself obliged to acquaint his royal highness, That the late duke of Ormond, and several others, who have conspired equally against their king and country, did, within a few days, begin their journey towards Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and, that they have got together, upon the coast of Gascony, a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and ships, with which the court of St. Germain's boasts its intention to make a descent in Ireland; which, as the same court flatters itself, will be supported, not only with the money, but even with the troops, of France.

The earl of Stair, who has always laboured with the utmost zeal, to establish a good and perfect friendship between the king his master and his royal highness the duke-regent, cannot help being much concerned to find himself reduced to make remonstrances upon points of so ticklish a nature, so capable of destroying the harmony that at present subsists between two nations, and of producing such discontents as may be attended with the most grievous consequences, if not immediately prevented by necessary orders.

It was not possible to elude the force of this representation; and, accordingly, his royal highness saw, that, to remove all suspicions,
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and preserve the friendship of Great-Britain, he must be obliged to speak plain; agreeable to which, his answer was, That he would forbid the exportation of any arms or ammunition out of the kingdom; and, that he should send such orders to all the ports of France as his Britannic majesty desired; together with instructions for the captains of such vessels as were bound for any part of Scotland.

Another Memorial by lord Stair to the Regent.

THE earl of Stair, minister of the king of Great-Britain to his most Christian majesty, has received express orders from the king his master, to acquaint his royal highness the duke of Orleans, regent of France, with the flight of the pretender, and the dispersion of the rebels in Scotland. His majesty is persuaded this news will be very acceptable to the duke regent, as well on account of the proximity of their blood, as in regard to the strict friendship which his majesty has so carefully cultivated with his highness.

The treaty of Utrecht is so recent, that the king was persuaded his royal highness would have taken the necessary measures to have prevented the pretender's setting his foot in France; but, since the said pretender has found means to return thither, his majesty as-

fures himself, that, so soon as his royal highness shall be made acquainted with it, he will take the necessary measures to oblige him to quit the kingdom.

1 The king of Great Britain commands the earl of Stair to insist, in the strongest manner, with his royal highness, That those persons who stand condemned by the laws of England, and are declared rebels and traitors to their King and country, may not be permitted to remain in France; and, that the chief abettors and authors of the late rebellion may be immediately obliged to leave the kingdom; and, that his royal highness will declare his resolution, not to permit the said rebels ever to return into France; or, that other persons, who may hereafter be condemned and declared rebels, shall at any time be received, or find protection in that kingdom.

His royal highness is too reasonable and too wise, not to see the justice and propriety of this demand. Great-Britain can never repose herself in safety and peace, whilst she sees those persons received and entertained in her neighbourhood, who have endeavoured, with open force, to bring on the ruin and total subversion of their country. Nor can France be perfectly assured, that she shall not once again see herself exposed to bear all the blame and resentment due to undertakings of so mischievous a nature.

The king and people of Great-Britain think themselves secure on the side of France, by
virtue.

virtue of the solemn treaty of Utrecht, by which the pretender is excluded from the dominions of his most Christian majesty; and by which France stands obliged to give him no assistance, either in ships, arms, or ammunition; in money, soldiers, or officers; no, nor either council or advice, either directly or indirectly. Yet the above-mentioned rebels arrive; they ask refuge and protection in France! and are no sooner there, than, by the commodiousness of their situation, and conveniency of the post, they plot and contrive the blackest and most detestable treason against their country; which, depending on the faith of the treaty of Utrecht, was unarmed and defenceless. In defiance of this treaty, they find means to bring the pretender into France, and, by their intrigues, they furnish him with ships, arms, and ammunition; officers, soldiers, and money; with which assistance the pretender has actually invaded Great-Britain, and brought infinite damages to the nation.

His royal highness may imagine, that Great-Britain could not long endure the uneasiness that must be derived from the neighbourhood of those rebels, ready to bring fire and sword into the heart of the kingdom, and to renew all the horrors that accompany rebellion.

In this situation Great-Britain would find herself obliged to be perpetually upon her guard; and would be subject to continual disturbances and apprehensions: a condition more vexatious than even open-war, to a na-

tion equally anxious for the preservation of its laws and liberties, as desirous to live in peace with its neighbours.

His royal highness may learn, from the unanimous address of both houses of parliament to the king, what sense the nation entertains of this uncertain and violent situation. The king has the happiness of his subjects too much at heart, not to enter warmly both into their opinions and interest; and he flatters himself, that, upon this occasion, his royal highness will not refuse him the just proof he has desired of his friendship, and of his disposition to entertain a good understanding between the two nations.

For the same reasons, the king of Great-Britain hopes his royal highness the regent, will concur with his majesty to solicit the duke of Lorraine, in the most effectual manner, that the pretender may not be permitted to return into his dominions.

The earl of Stair has also received orders to remind his royal highness of the declaration he has already made, that such officers in the service of France, as followed the pretender into Scotland, shall be cashiered. And the king is persuaded, that his royal highness will not permit such general officers, colonels, and others, who may have followed and assisted the pretender in the late rebellion, ever to be employed afresh in the service of his most Christian majesty: and, if any of the said officers should hereafter return, or be already returned,
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into France, that his royal highness will cause them to be punished, so that their conduct may appear to have been as highly displeasing to his royal highness and the government, as it is contrary to the treaty of Utrecht.

To prevent all mistakes in a business of so important and delicate a nature, the earl of Stair has orders to demand an answer in writing to this Memorial, which he passionately wishes to be such as may contribute to re-establish a good intelligence between the two nations.

So resolute a declaration reduced his royal highness to the necessity of declaring himself. There was no medium; he must either satisfy Great-Britain, by refusing the pretender a retreat in France, or absolutely break with a prince whose friendship might be of service to him, for the sake of a guest who was both unuseful to him and his friends, as well as troublesome to those who protected him. In a word, fortune having already abjured the pretender, it was no hard matter for the regent to do so too; and, agreeable to this, by the advice of the abbot du Bois, he made the earl of Stair the following answer, after having acquainted the pretender with his resolution, who immediately took the road to Avignon.

HIS royal highness, taking part in the glory and victory of the king of Great-Britain, received the news of the success of his

arms in Scotland with so much the greater pleasure, as it is an event which, at the same time that it secures the tranquillity of his Britannic majesty's dominions, will also put an end to those false reports that have been artfully propagated by such as are enemies to the public peace, in order to impair that friendship and confidence which the king is resolved to entertain with his majesty of Great-Britain; a point that has always engaged the utmost attention of his royal highness, who, being desirous to comply exactly with the treaty of Utrecht, has always made use of the authority with which he is intrusted, to oblige the Chevalier de St. George to leave his kingdom; and his royal highness will continue to employ the same authority to prevent his return at any time hereafter, or under any pretext whatsoever.

With respect to such fugitives as may have fled from England into his majesty's dominions, or that may fly thither hereafter, though nothing be better understood than the laws of sanctuary and protection in all foreign states, his royal highness being desirous to shew his majesty of Great Britain, how very inconsistent it is with the king's intentions, to suffer an abuse of that protection, by permitting persons to enjoy it who should entertain any correspondence capable of disturbing the tranquillity of Great-Britain, is willing to agree in concert with his Britannic majesty, upon all proper methods for preventing such abuses, and removing

removing every subject of discontent and jealousy.

It is with the same design of shewing how far his majesty is indisposed to tolerate so great a rashness, that an edict is issued against such officers as presumed to go out of the kingdom without permission.

If it be true, agreeable to what is advanced by the earl of Stair, that England, reposing itself upon the faith of treaties, was disarmed and defenceless ; it is not less so, that no person whatsoever can say with truth, that his most Christian majesty has, in any degree, served himself of that conjuncture to the prejudice of Great-Britain ; or, that he has given any succour to the Chevalier de St. George. It is known, on the contrary, that his royal highness prevented and suppressed several military undertakings in favour of the said Chevalier, so soon as he was made acquainted with them ; and nothing can better demonstrate, that the Chevalier de St. George was not assisted by France, than his wretched condition when in Scotland, entirely destitute of every thing that was necessary to such an undertaking.

His majesty sees, with pleasure, the marks of a perfect harmony between the king of Great-Britain and his parliament, as the most certain foundation both of that prince's glory and the happiness of his subjects. His royal highness feels the same satisfaction ; and, desiring very truly, to preserve his Britannic ma-

Majesty's friendship, will omit nothing that may demonstrate how sensible he is of the proofs he has received of it.

His royal highness will do nothing, either directly or indirectly, that may influence the duke of Lorraine to refuse any demands which the king of Great-Britain may make, with relation to the Chevalier de St. George's residing in his dominions; but will be sincerely glad to see his majesty satisfied in this particular; persuading himself, on the other hand, that the king of England will not desire him to proffer such demands to a prince over whom his most Christian majesty has no authority, as the regent would be at a loss to alledge proper grounds for so doing; and which, on the other hand, would add no weight to the powerful instances of his Britannic majesty.

These answers are too exact and clear, not to shew the king's real dispositions; and, it is to be hoped they will also display the desire his royal highness has ever entertained to preserve his Britannic majesty's friendship, and to contribute all that can depend upon his particular care, and the authority he exercises, to establish and preserve a strict union and perfect intelligence between his most Christian majesty and the king of Great Britain.

This language was very agreeable to the court of England; and, to speak truth, the expulsion of the pretender out of the dominions

nions of France, as well as an edict published about the same time, prohibiting the French subjects to trade in the South-Sea, were two points of such importance to Great-Britain that they might justly serve for a foundation to that friendship and confidence which at that time sprung up between the two nations. To balance the exclusion of the French from the South-Sea, the regent published a declaration permitting them to trade to Africa.

From these Memorials, and the whole of his other conduct, the duke of Orleans, who, by a dexterous management, had got himself declared regent during the king's minority, conceived the greatest opinion of him. The whole court admired him without envy, they dreaded him without hatred, and endeavoured to sooth him with the most artful policy; but there was nothing could make him, in the least, to depart from the interest of his country, or do any thing that had a tendency to fully the honour of the station in which he was placed: and here it may not be improper to give an instance of it, that so the character of the earl of Stair may be illustrated from an example.

One day the regent, attended with the most splendid retinue, went in his coach to pay him a visit; which his excellency being informed of, prepared for his reception. The coach halted at the gate; and, when the earl of Stair came out of his apartment, the regent rose up, partly alighted from his coach, set one foot on

the ground, and kept the other fixed on the step. His excellency, in the mean time, was advancing out of his gate; but, observing the posture the regent was in, he stopped short; then turned about, and walked three or four times backward and forward, and at last asked one of the attendants, Whether his royal highness was come to visit him as his Britannic majesty's ambassador, or as earl of Stair? To which receiving no answer, he replied,

“ If he comes to see lord Stair, I shall reckon it my greatest honour to receive any one officer of the crown, much more the duke-regent, at the door of his coach; but, if he comes to visit the ambassador of my august and royal master, I think I should be unworthy the trust reposed in me, if I went further than I have done.”

This being told the regent, he re-entered his coach, and afterwards caused signification to be made to his excellency, that he was not desirous of seeing him at court; and, for some months, he actually withdrew, till, hearing of the regent's fitting out a strong squadron at Toulon, which the court of Britain could not look on with indifference, he went to court; but in such a manner as argued a consummate policy, as well as an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country.

He set out in a private chaise, and, being met by chancellor d' Huxelles, who was very pomp-

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pompously attended, and paid his compliments to his excellency in the most elegant manner, and invited him to take a seat in his coach. His lordship thanked him for his civility, but told him, That he wanted not coaches, but was at present diverting himself as the earl of Stair. He then parted from him, and came to the court; but the guards observing him, declared he had no authority to be there; "Oh!" says he, though the British ambassador be debarred access, yet the lord Stair is not."

On this he was allowed to come in; and, having passed the first guard, he hastened thro' the others, and then immediately entered the chamber of presence, where the king and regent were standing amidst a vast number of nobility, gentry, foreign ambassadors and general officers.

No sooner did his highness observe the earl of Stair than he withdrew to an inner chamber, whither he was followed by his lordship, the company standing aside to let him pass; and, as he entered the room, he told him, That, if at present he denied him audience, perhaps, in time, he might be glad to have one in his turn. On this the regent and he conversed two hours; during which time he informed him of his intrigues with the czar, with the king of Sweden, and with cardinal Alberoni, for bringing in the pretender. His royal highness observing, that nothing, though ever so secretly transacted, could be
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kept up from so prying an ambassador, and, that one half of the French nation were, thro' poverty, become spies upon the other, made a merit of discovering the whole to his Britannic majesty.

Tho' Philip V. grandson of Spain, was, by the treaty of Utrecht, allowed to reign peaceably upon the ruins of the Spanish monarchy; yet neither he, nor his ministers, being content with the treaty obtained; they endeavoured to better themselves by intrigues, and to procure by craft, what by force of arms was impracticable. Cardinal Alberoni, the then Spanish minister, knew very well, that, though the emperor, by the late treaty, was put in possession of Sicily and Flanders, and secured in his other vast dominions, was yet so far drained of his treasure, by the last war, as to have no great stomach for a rupture, he judged the same of the other powers engaged; and, thinking that Great Britain had got too advantageous terms at the last general pacification, his aim was, to bring in a king upon her, who would be apt to relinquish every advantage in gratitude for the favours done him.

But as Spain was very unequal for accomplishing so great a project, the church politician thought of a tool from another quarter, and that was Charles XII. of Sweden, with the czar of Muscovy, whom he incessantly laboured to reconcile. The former was easily brought into the scheme, from a prospect of regaining

regaining Bremen and Verden, and, by means of the czar, of conquering an equivalent for the provinces he was obliged to cede to him ; and the czar was again allured with the bait of having his daughter married to the imaginary monarch, and of having a beneficial trade with Britain into the ports of his new conquered provinces : however, it is not to be presumed, that either the Swedish or the Russian court would have gone so soon into the proposal, if some English and Scots gentlemen had not repaired, after the rebellion, into their dominions ; more inflamed, after the defeats at Sheriff-muir and Preston, with an inclination for war, attributing their disasters in those places entirely to fatality. The representation of the rebels, and the gold of Peru remitted from Madrid, were very powerful arguments with the two enterprising monarchs ; whose ministers now met upon the overtures of peace, and for bringing about the cardinal's proposal.

Baron Goertz, who was among the ablest statesmen in Europe, had twice an interview with the czar at the Hague about it ; and, having informed him that he had got considerable sums from the disaffected in England, for buying ships and ammunition for invading Scotland, the Muscovite was so well pleased, that he went in person to Paris, on the 7th of May, where an entertainment of eight thousand dishes was prepared ; and, under pretext of visiting the academy, arsenals, the chambers

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bers of rarities, and every thing that might excite the attention of the curious, he conferred with the regent upon the intended scheme. His royal highness, though ever desirous of having a king fixed in Britain by French influence, seemed not quite satisfied with it, either from an unwillingness to expend more treasure in favour of a fugitive, or because he thought, that the Spanish gold, with the Russian and Swedish arms, were sufficient to bring about the design. The conference with the czar, though very secret, was, by the regent's secretary, communicated to the British ambassador, who directly acquainted his court, where such measures were taken, by stationing the ships and quartering the forces, as rendered the scheme impracticable; and, at the same time, a letter from the Swedish ambassador, count Gyllenbourg, to his brother Gustavus, then ambassador in France, having fallen into his lordship's hands, it was transmitted to the British court at London, where count Gyllenbourg was arrested, and most of his papers seized, in which were many letters from and to baron Goertz. From these it appeared plainly, that an invasion was designed; and, indeed, the same might have taken place, had it not been for the seasonable intelligence given by the earl of Stair.

But these were not the only attempts in favour of the unhappy fugitive, that were defeated through his means: but he likewise projected the Quadruple alliance, offensive and

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and defensive, between his Britannick majesty, the emperor, the Most Christian king, and the States General of the United Provinces, the better to baffle the designs of the court of Madrid, who now regaled the Pretender; and, in hopes of a powerful diversion in Hungary, attacked the emperor, and fomented disturbances in the British dominions. For, having formed a design of seizing the island of Sicily, they fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and, in July 1718, mastered most part of the places in it; but while they were busily employed in attacking the citadel of Messina, the British fleet came to their assistance, and, upon the eleventh of August, attacked twenty-seven Spanish ships of the line, off Cape Passaro, and, after an obstinate engagement, took and sunk most of them: and soon after the king of Sicily acceded to the Quadruple alliance. This stunning blow so much chagrined the court of Spain, that an order was issued out for seizing upon all the British merchant ships and effects in that kingdom. To redress which injuries, letters of marque and reprisals were given to the British subjects against those of Spain, the third of October 1718; and, on the 17th, war was declared against her.

Indeed the court of Spain was, at this time, the most intriguing in Europe: for she did not only endeavour to disturb the tranquillity of Britain, but likewise of France; for which purpose the prince of Cellemare, her ambassador at Paris, had entered into a contract with
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some mutineers, to whom he gave pensions: the design was, to take away the regent's life, to make an inroad into four provinces of the kingdom; to spanify the French ministry, and thus pave a way for uniting the whole, or at least the greatest part of the French dominions, with those of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon. Which scheme might have taken place, and rekindled the general war, if the same had not been discovered in the following extraordinary manner.

Two noblemen, who were intrusted with a packet from the Spanish ambassador to cardinal Alberoni, containing a relation of the progress which he had made with some noblemen for accomplishing the schemes of his court, entered a chaise, which broke down about two leagues from Paris. The postilion, observing them to take more care of their portmanteau than of themselves (one of them saying, he would rather lose one hundred thousand pistoles than it) after driving them to the end of the first stage, he hastened to Paris, and gave immediate notice of what he had seen to the government. The council of the regency being instantly called, some were sent off, with an order to stop them; which they actually did at Poitiers, and not only arrested their persons, but sent their portmanteau to Paris; in which were found the plainest marks of a conspiracy. The same night (the 28th of November) several persons of distinction were seized and sent to the Bastile; and the

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the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave the kingdom.

The abbot du Bois wrote a circular letter to several ministers residing at the French court, and particularly to the earl of Stair, acquainting him with the motives which induced them to take this step with regard to the prince de Cellamere, by whose letters it was plainly seen, that he was inciting the king's subjects to a revolution, and that he had formed a plan to destroy the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then concluded, in terms which both discovered his respect to the British court, and a personal esteem for her ambassador.

Soon after this, a declaration of war was made by France against Spain; and, though the same was looked upon rather as fictitious than real, yet the burning of six new men of war upon the stocks at Port Passage, and the taking of some towns, put the matter of France's being in earnest beyond all possibility of doubt. And now Spain, being embarrassed with the two most powerful states in Europe, had recourse to art for extricating herself; she was not only deprived of a resource from the States General, from whom she hoped for assistance in ships, but the person whom she most trusted, viz. Charles XII. of Sweden, had been suddenly taken off at Frederickshall, on the 30th of November.

There was hardly a single step taken for the old Chevalier, that escaped the Lyncean eye
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of the earl of Stair; for, from the month of June till the end of October, he was making the most pressing instances to the regent, that the duke of Ormond, who had resided, during that time, in the neighbourhood of Paris, might not be tolerated in France. This coming to the ears of Cardinal Alberoni, he invited him to come to Madrid; where he was let into the scheme agreed on betwixt France and Spain, and the king of Sweden, for making an invasion on Great Britain, as soon as he had reduced Frederickshall, while the duke of Ormond should make an attempt upon Ireland with eight thousand men, that were to sail with him from the port of Biscay. All this being discovered, by intercepting the prince of Cellamare's packets, the earl of Stair exerted himself to the utmost, in order to discourage the design, and sent such accounts of his procedure as astonished the king, and made him admire the depth of his penetration. Every thing was put in the best posture of defence, both in Britain and Ireland, where ten thousand pounds were set upon the head of the duke of Ormond.

So many great actions, so constant a run of glorious success in his negotiations, a reputation so full, and so entire, appeared the sweetest and pleasantest fruit of so much toil: for indeed it may be said, that he could have no more honours, since he was dignified, in a manner, with all the crowns that could be fixed upon the head of a subject; but that
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which is ordinarily the bound and limit of other heroes, was only the way and the mean for ours to arrive at a higher pinnacle of greatness. Thus providence, by vesting in him so many illustrious employments, interesting him in so many different events, and making him the instrument of so many pieces of service to his country, prepared him, as it were, a master, in the knowledge of the British interest, to the great king George, that wisest of statesmen, whom here I may call invincible; nor, indeed, must we think, that his studies and his experience could be better employed than in giving a lesson to so acute a scholar: but what cannot a great master do, when he finds a genius of the first order to form? Scarce had the earl of Stair given his first advices, till he found it out of his power to insist upon others, being prevented by the quick-sightedness, by the penetration, by the happy and wise impetuosity of the courage and conduct of so great a king; and, as people observe, the thunderbolt, coming almost in a moment within the body of the cloud, to burn, to blaze, to burst, and to overturn; so the first fires of a military ardour, or of a political zeal, are scarce kindled in the heart of the king, when they burn, flame, and break through all. Britain and Ireland are put in a posture of defence; the councils of the house of Bourbon are overturned by the policy of the British ambassador; terror seizes upon
France

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France; and a surprising admiration passes from one end of Europe to the other.

But, though Spain was unable now to execute her designs, yet the restless spirit of the cardinal still fomented the tumultuous passions of the British rebels, who had retired, partly by his invitation, and partly without any, into the dominions of his master. The invitation was kept a perfect secret, even at Madrid itself; but, as there were some people about the duke of Ormond, who, being elate with the prospect of the expedition, they thought proper to communicate the design to their correspondents at Paris; and these having shewn their letters to one M'Donald, a lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigades, he handed them about, till at last they came to the ears of the British ambassador, who sent captain Gardiner express, with an account, that the preparations of the Spaniards, at Cadiz, were certainly designed against South Britain; and that their fleets would put to sea the 7th or 8th of March.

This piece of intelligence was communicated by the king to his parliament; who, after assuring him of their utmost efforts to defeat so extraordinary an attempt, the forces were every where in motion, and perhaps would have had more work to do, notwithstanding the German troops lay ready at Ostend to embark to the assistance of his Britannick majesty,

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jesty, if the enemies of their country had not met with a check from another quarter.

The duke of Ormond, with five thousand land forces on board, having provision, ammunition, and every other necessary, embarked for the West of England; but meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, they were separated: his grace, with most of the English and Irish officers, were obliged to put back to Cadiz, while the earls of Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, pursued their voyage, and landed at Kintail in the north of Scotland, on the fifteenth of April, with about four hundred Spanish troops. They were very uneasy to know the fate of the duke of Ormond, and deferred moving from thence, till they should hear what was become of his grace: but, before any certain accounts arrived of his disappointment, general Wightman was in full march to disperse them, having with him two Swiss and three Dutch battalions, one hundred and twenty dragoons, with about three hundred and fifty foot soldiers. He came up with them on the Pretender's birth-day, at the pass of Glenshiel; where the M'Kenzies were stationed on one side, the marquis of Tullibardin, with the laird of M'Douall, upon the other, and the Spaniards intrenched in their front, making, in all, one thousand six hundred and fifty men. No sooner did they enter the pass, than, to their astonishment, the rebels, who lay concealed among the heath, alarmed them

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them with their shot, and killed the colonel of a Dutch regiment upon the spot; which disheartened the soldiers much, till a major led them on, with such intrepidity, amidst the fire of the enemy, that he even played upon the flagelet before them. General Wightman observing the matter, ordered some hand-grenadoes to be thrown in among them, which fired the heath, that was then very long, about their ears; and one of the splinters wounding Seaforth in the wrist, his clan carried him off, and at the same time retired in the greatest confusion. As the general was unacquainted with the country, he ordered captain Monro of Culcairn, who was there with about eighty men of his brother's vassals, to pursue them; which he did with a surprising alacrity, and, knowing the steeps, he and they mounted them, under cover of some coehorns that were brought to bear upon the enemy, whom they pursued from one rock to another, till that brave officer was wounded. The rebels placed in the right of the pass having given way, those on the left made off full speed, leaving the Spaniards, who now became an easy conquest; for they were all made prisoners of war without so much as drawing one drop of blood.

This was the last effort in favour of the old Pretender, during the reign of George I. against whom so many plots and conspiracies were formed, but were as often baffled.

now

The refined policy of the earl of Stair was now become next to a proverb, and the people, as it were, bowed their knees before him as he went forth into the streets ; for the populace of France are very averse to a war with the British nation. His house was a receptacle for the poor, and he generally had the most substantial dishes prepared for them ; yea, and he himself always used an English meal for his Sunday's dinner ; to which were frequently invited many of the principal lords of the court, or some of the foreign ambassadors ; who all agreed in the admiration of his person, the dexterity of his conduct, and politeness of his address : and, indeed, this new blow, that had been given to the pretender's scheme, through his means, would, in a manner, have rendered him adored by the multitude, especially when they recollected the magnificence of his appearance, on the twenty-fifth of January, at his entry into Paris, to congratulate the king on his accession to the throne ; and, as the same was the most splendid ever seen on the like occasion, we think it will not be improper to describe it for the further entertainment of our readers,

The Order of his Entry.

1. THE coach of the chevalier de Saintot, the introducer of ambassadors.

2. The coach of the marshal d'Estrees, vice-admiral of France.

3. His excellency's under query, at the head of thirty-six footmen in his excellency's livery.

4. One of his majesty of Great-Britain's cabinet-couriers, or messengers, on horse back.

5. Six horses led by six grooms, in the same livery as his excellency's footmen.

6. Twelve gentlemen on horse back.

7. His excellency's query, or master of the horse, on horse-back.

8. Twelve pages, in his excellency's livery, on horse-back.

9. The king's coach, in which was his excellency, the marshal d'Estrees, and the chevalier de Saintot.

10. The coaches of the princes and the princesses of the blood, and that of the abbot du Bois, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs.

11. Thirty paces behind followed two Swissers, in his excellency's livery, on horse-back.

12. His excellency's body-coach, with eight glasses, drawn by eight dapple grey Friesland horses, and a footman on each side the coach.

13. His

13. His excellency's second coach, drawn by eight mouse-coloured Neapolitan horses, and a footman on each side the coach.

14. His excellency's calash, drawn by eight bay-brown Spanish horses, with black manes, and a footman on each side.

15. His excellency's fourth coach, drawn by eight bay-brown Danish horses with black manes, and a footman on each side.

16. His excellency's fifth coach, drawn by eight black Friesland horses, and a footman on each side.

17. The coach of Mr. Crawford, secretary to the embassy of his majesty of Great-Britain.

18. The coaches of several English lords and gentlemen who made up his excellency's train,

An Account of the Livery and Equipage.

His excellency's liveries, for his footmen, were of orange coloured English cloth, trimmed with velvet lace, blue, white, and crimson, worked so as to represent his excellency's coat of arms betwixt two silver laces, the sleeves and flaps covered with lace, and the shoulder-knot embroidered with silver and silk of the colour of the livery, adorned with tufts and lace of silver, with blue and white feathers, and cockades in their hats, their stockings of a cherry colour, with silver clocks ;

E 2

their

their gloves lined with silver four inches deep, and their garters trimmed with fine Flanders lace.

The six led horses were the finest that eyes could see, mounted with saddles and housings of different sorts of velvet, with different embroideries of gold and silver of the richest sort, with their caparisons of gold and silver embroideries suited to the liveries, and in their compartments, the arms, cyphers, and devices of his excellency.

His quarry, or master of the horse, was mounted on a fine Spanish horse, his equipage of yellow velvet, set off with fine silver fringes and lace, the housing and bolsters richly embroidered and embellished in the same manner. The harnesses of silver twist, set off with buckles and ornaments of massy silver.

The pages were clad in the finest orange coloured English cloth, trimmed with broad silver lace, pinked and richly wrought; their sleeves were faced with blue velvet with the same lace; their shoulder knots embroidered with silver wire, and adorned with tufts of silver; their hats laced with Spanish point-lace; their feathers white, and their cockades yellow; their gloves had silver fringes, and were embroidered on the back. They all rode on English horses, their saddles and housings trimmed with silver and gold lace and embroidery; the bridle-reins of silver twist, and all the furnishing of the horses of massy silver.

His

His excellency's gentlemen, and under quarry, were all clad alike, in fine ash coloured cloth, laced all over with a fine large open silver lace; their hats laced with silver, and their cockades and feathers yellow; their gloves, and the harness of their horses, the same with those of the pages.

The two Swiflers, in his excellency's livery, had rich shoulder-belts covered with silver-lace and embroidery; their gloves had silver fringes, their swords silver handles, with large silver pommels, and knots of silver ribbon; their hats were laced, and their cockades and feathers white and blue. They rode on horses whose harnesses were trimmed with lace, fringes and embroidery.

His excellency's body-coach had eight wheels, was lined with Persian crimson velvet, and the ground-work of gold. Never was a more magnificent one seen, either for the fineness of the sculpture and gilding, or the richness of its other ornaments. The roof within was adorned with a large cartifane of the best gold in Paris, which went round and formed the cantonements. In the middle there was a great rose likewise of a gold cartifane, and in the centre a rich ornament formed like a wreathed tower. Round the roof there was a large gold tuft, garnished with fringes, spinage-seed, and jessamy flowers. The curtains were of Genoa crimson damask, richly embroidered with gold, laced, and garnished round with golden valences, adorned in the same manner. The

body of the coach without, except the posts, which were all of sculpture, was the same with the inner roof, and of crimson velvet, covered with very rich cartisanes of gold, with ornaments in mosaic work of gold wire. On the pannels, before and behind, and of the boot, were the arms of the king of Great-Britain in gold embroidery of large embossed work; and in those of the four corners were the devices of the orders of the garter, and St. Andrew embroidered in the same manner. The velvet on the outer roof is almost quite covered by the ornaments of the cartisane and the golden embroidery formed in the compartments. Instead of eight apples there were infants carved and joined two and two, holding in one hand the arms of Great-Britain, and in the other a plume of feathers of gold wire mixed with crimson flowers; and, instead of apples in the middle, there were four infants carved and joined, supporting the imperial crown of Great Britain. The corrich was adorned with a thick gold cordon, or ridge, richly embroidered; which, instead of nails, formed roses of gold in relievo; from which hung down a magnificent fringe in form of spinage-seed, and jessamy round the roof. All the braces and ornaments of the wheels or springs were richly gilt with ground gold. The braces, cross, and traverses, were covered with crimson velvet and open gold lace. The harness was also adorned with crimson velvet, and set off with buckles and other ornaments of gilt brass. The
rims

Rims were of twists of gold crimson silk. The buttons, or knobs, were embellished with feeds of spinnage and jessamy in gold. The plumes of the horses were of very fine feathers adorned with gold in a new and very particular manner; and in the middle of them there was a garland of crimson flowers. The coachman's box was covered with the same velvet as the inside of the coach, with a rich gold fringe in form of spinnage-seed and jessamy.

The second surpassed all that had ever yet been seen for the beauty and curiocity of the sculpture, wherein the workman had in a manner outdone himself. This coach had seven glasses: it was lined with a crimson Genoa damask, with large gold flowers, set off with thick gold fringes. The outside was rich sculpture, partly silvered and partly gilt, with ornaments of flowers in their natural colours. The outside of the roof was covered with ornaments of brass silvered and gilt, and ended with a basket of flowers to the life. From this basket came eight strings which carried great buttons of silver and gold under each of the apples that adorned the cornish. The painting of the pannels were ornaments, with the arms, cyphers, and devices of his excellency the ambassador. That on the back represented the dawn of the day expelling darkness, the symbol of truth, which disperses error and false prejudice. The braces, false braces, crosses, traverses, harnesses, and reins, were of yellow velvet, adorned with lace, buttons, buckles,

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&c. of silver. The horses plumes were of white feathers garnished with gold, and yellow ones with silver; from the middle of each of these came a garland of gold and silver mixed with flowers of all sorts of colours. The coachman's box was covered with the same sort of velvet that lined the coach, with gold fringe round it.

The fourth is a coach with seven glasses, covered within and without with crimson velvet, enriched with carufanes and fringes of gold. The sculpture of the body without was gilt at bottom, and richly painted in all the pannels with the attributes of peace, set off with three rows of gilt nails; and, on the roof, was eight apples of brass gilt of a cherry colour. The braces, &c. were of Russia leather, pinked and embroidered; and all the braces of the finest model, and gilt of a cherry colour. The coachman's box was like the furniture within, with rich gold fringes.

The coachmen and postilions of all the coaches were clad in his excellency's livery, like those already mentioned.

All the horses for the coaches and saddles, had their manes adorned with rich knots and ribbons mixed with tufts of gold and silver.

The earl of Stair being come from la Raquette, where he was received by the marshal d'Estrees and the chevalier de Saintot, to the hotel for the entertainment of ambassadors extraordinary, he was complimented, in the king's

king's name, by the marquis de Gefores, first gentleman of the bedchamber ; on the part of the duchess of Berry, by the chevalier de Hautefort, her master of the horse ; on the part of madame, by the marquis de Simiane, her master of the horse : on the part of the duke of Orleans, by the marquis de Simiane, first gentleman of his bedchamber ; and, on the part of the duchess of Orleans, by the marquis de St. Pierre, her master of the horse. He was lodged in that hotel, and entertained, the three following days by the king's officers.

On the seventh, the prince de Lambesc, and the chevalier de Saintot, introducer of ambassadors, went in the king's coach to the hotel of ambassadors extraordinary, to receive the earl of Stair, and conducted him to his first public audience of his majesty ; on which occasion his excellency made the following speech to the king :

S I R,

THE king of Great-Britain, my master, sent me, his ambassador-extraordinary to your majesty, to congratulate you on your accession to the crown ; and to assure you, That there is nothing he more ardently desires, than to maintain and improve that perfect friendship which is so happily established with your majesty ; and to confirm and increase the union

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and mutual confidence between the two nations which is so beneficial to each. As long as these nations are united, no foreign force can endanger the constitution of either state; and their union may naturally be of long duration. They have nothing to claim one of the other, no pretensions to be decided between them.

Nature hath bounded Great-Britain by the sea; she seeks nothing that belongs to her neighbour; she naturally finds her advantage in the public quiet and tranquility; her interest, as well as the inclination and wisdom of her king, dispose her to desire the peace and happiness of her neighbours, and to contribute thereto.

Your majesty is possessed of the finest and most powerful kingdom of Europe: it wants nothing but quiet and tranquility to render it, the most happy and the most flourishing.

These two potent nations, so happily situated, united by interest so natural, and by treaties so wisely concerted, will not only be happy in the constitutions of each state, as long as their union last, but will communicate the happiness they enjoy to their neighbours, and to all Europe.

The treaty lately made sets out so clearly the bounds between the chief powers; so carefully provides against all occasions for war, that human prudence can foresee in the course of time; and settles a guaranty of such a nature, and of such force, for the public tranquility,

quility, that we have strong reason to flatter ourselves, no power will attempt to disturb it; and your majesty will have the satisfaction and the glory to see, in the beginning of your auspicious reign, France and all Europe re-established; which have been so cruelly torn in pieces by such very long and destructive wars.

That in which your majesty is at present engaged jointly with your allies will be of short continuance: it is impossible that the ungoverned passion, and blind ambition, of particular persons; should long withstand the forces of the greatest powers in Europe, united for establishing the public tranquillity on lasting and solid foundations. The public peace and welfare will soon succeed to these transient alarms.

The king, my master, wishes your majesty may enjoy, in a long course of years, you and your descendants, uninterrupted fruits of that welfare; and that the two nations, as well as the kings, may ever be united, as well during his reign as those of his posterity.

As I have had the happiness to see those engagements formed, which unite the king my master with your majesty, I shall think myself very fortunate, if by my endeavours, I may any way contribute to the keeping up of this happy union, and to the rendering it more perfect between the two nations.

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The answer returned by his majesty was to this effect: That he was extremely pleased with the good intelligence between himself and the king of Great Britain; that he was satisfied it was very beneficial to the two nations; that his excellency might assure the king, that, on his part, he would do all that was in his power for continuing and improving the friendship and good correspondence with the king, and between the nations; and that the choice which the king had made of his excellency was very agreeable to him.

From this grand appearance made by the earl of Stair, one may judge of the greatness of his soul, and of the honour he did to the British nation during his ministry. He insisted upon an explicit answer to his memorials relating to the intended port of Mardyke, before he assumed any character, with that firmness and dignity which ever distinguished him in battles, courts, and senates, in favour and disgrace.

He so far served his country, as three times to defeat the Pretender's projects; and, extending his generosity to the whole of Europe, he projected the Quadruple alliance, which was the means of pacifying the troubles, both in the north and the south.

When the emperor and the king of Spain were at war, he formed the plan of a treaty between his royal master and the Most Christian king; by which the contending powers were brought to an accommodation. He carried
on

on that noble contest with the princes of the blood, on the ceremonial to be observed to ambassadors of the first order, and brought it to that issue which has continued the rule ever since. His vigilance and circumspection could not be deceived, and his presence of mind, spirit, and resolution, such as could not be daunted, overawed, or discomposed. His address and deportment were the admiration of the court, which had, till then, the vanity to think, those delicate flowers were only to be found in their own soil. His abilities had such an ascendant over the regent, that, being once publicly asked, what part his royal highness would take in the troubles of the north? he answered, What the British ambassador pleases.

So many grand occasions and honourable appearances proved the means of incumbering his personal estate, which, with the debts he had contracted in gaming, was the cause of his being recalled. Upon his return, the king declared himself so well pleased with his conduct, that he would have created him a duke, if he had not been prevented by law. The true sense which the king had of his fidelity, was the greatest and most illustrious eulogium of his virtue: the people echoed back the praises of their king, while the whole of his dominions resounded with applause for his conduct; several prints were published, and every one took a pride to have his picture by them.

He

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He continued all that king's reign as one of his privy council; was present at the most solemn transactions; and, on his late majesty's ascending the throne, he was received into the same confidence.

In April, 1730, he was made lord admiral of Scotland, which, with his other posts, he held till April 1733; when he fell into disgrace at court, upon the following occasion:

In the winter of the year 1732, there was brought into parliament a scheme for changing the duties on tobacco and wine, and bringing them under the laws of Excise, for preventing of frauds in the revenue, which some people at the helm loudly complained of. This affair was disliked by the trading part of the nation, who made so great a noise, that in January the tobacconists of London, at a general meeting, agreed to act in concert with the committee appointed by the citizens, merchants, and traders of London; and, by all just and lawful means, to oppose any new excise, or extension of the excise laws, under any pretence whatsoever: several corporations earnestly recommended the same thing to their representatives; and, in February, the city of London laid their grievances before their four representatives. Notwithstanding which, the scheme was proposed, and the motion, with regard to tobacco, was made, on the fourteenth of March, in a grand committee; and, after a warm debate, the question was carried, two hundred and sixty-six against two hundred

hundred and five; and afterwards, March sixteen, in the house, by two hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and eighty-nine, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly; which being done upon the fourth of April, and read for the first time, the sheriffs, with several of the aldermen, common-council-men, eminent merchants and traders of the city, went in their coaches to Westminster-hall, petitioning to be heard by their council against the bill, which was appointed to be read a second time on the tenth of April; but their petition, upon a question, was rejected, two hundred and fourteen against one hundred and ninety-seven. Other petitions were also brought in, when sir Robert Walpole moved, that the bill might not be read till the twelfth of June; which being agreed to, the scheme dropped; on which great rejoicings were made.

Among the number of those who opposed it was the earl of Stair, not, indeed, from any dislike he had to the then prime minister, but from a prospect of the dismal consequences that might arise, from a people for whose laws and liberties more martyrs have suffered, than for those of any other nation; and it being demanded, by the late queen, why he did so; his answer was, "That he wished her royal family better than to agree to such a project." A little time after he resigned all his places into his majesty's hands; as did the lord Cobham, the duke of Bolton, the earl of

of Chesterfield, the earl of Burlington, and many others.

In the next session, which was the last of that parliament, he voted with all the candour and integrity that became so great a man, not regarding the smiles or frowns of a court; and when a motion was made in the house of lords to petition his majesty to inform them of the persons that had advised him to remove so many eminent and truly brave men, he behaved with a moderation that became the greatness of his soul.

In June, 1734, he appeared at the elections; and, as the party who had sided with sir Robert Walpole in promoting the excise-scheme, had been at great pains to carry the elections of Scotland, he was the first to enter a protest against the method of their procedure, viz. that the military, who by act of parliament ought to be removed some miles from the place of election, were, nevertheless, under arms, at no further distance than half a mile; the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, and Roxburgh, the marquis of Tweedale, and several other lords, who mentioned the very peers who were afterwards chosen, as those contained in the list named by the minister and sent down by his agent, protested likewise. And the matter might have been carried a greater length, had not the late duke of Argyle, during the heat of their debate, told the meeting, that he saw many strange faces in the room, and that he thought the
same

same should be cleared; on which several ladies, who had come in, withdrew, and were followed by the lords in the opposite interest: so that the court party, as it was called, entirely prevailed; and the petition given into parliament, complaining of the election, was afterwards refused.

From this time he applied himself to agriculture, which he understood to such a degree, that he might be called the Virgil of the age; he employed about two hundred workmen every day, and was as much admired for his husbandry at home, as he had been for his politeness at the court of Versailles.

During his retirement from court, he was visited by the nobility from all quarters; he corresponded with several generals abroad, and with some of those noblemen in England who had resigned at the same time with himself. He was most facetious in conversation, and entertained his company with such discourses as served to instruct as well as to amuse. When speaking of the king of Poland, he attracted the admiration of all who heard him; and he has frequently declared, that he preferred hunting the stag at Warsaw, to the gallantries and amusements of the court of Versailles. His generosity, here, was like the greatness of his soul, for never man bestowed his favours with a better grace. One day a physician had come to his house, and his lordship judging, that, if he offered him money, it might be refused, contrived a way

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to make him a present: he went to his parlour, and wrote a line, which he gave to the doctor to deliver, at the same time apologizing for using the freedom with him, in the politest and most amiable manner; the gentleman told him, that his lordship's commands were only an honour to him, and with pleasure they should be obeyed. Upon his coming to Edinburgh, he instantly repaired to the person for whom the letter was directed, and delivered it to him; when, to his surprise, he was shewn the contents of it, which were as follow:

S I R,

PAY the bearer thirty guineas, which is but a small compliment for his care of me; and place the same to the account of, sir,

Your very humble servant,

STARR.

It would be almost impossible to represent the whole of his amiable and generous actions. He was always a friend to the distressed; and, when stripped of all his employments, supported the dignity of a nobleman who had once proved an ornament to the British nation: But while he was encouraging husbandry, and doing good to mankind, he was not unmindful of religion; for he went to church every Sunday. And here it may be observed, that, in France, his chapel was an asylum to the
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Protestants, for when any of them were taken up for attending at it he was at the expence of a memorial to the regent, who directly gave them leave to act as they pleased. Thus he continued till the year 1741, when a change happened at court, to which he was called on the following occasion :

The British merchants had long complained, that letters of marque had been issued out from the Spanish admiralty against the British ships, under pretence of searching for contraband goods and passports; numerous representations were made upon this at Madrid, several conferences were held upon the subject; and at last a convention was signed, on the fourth of January 1739, in which Spain agreed to pay ninety-five thousand pounds, to compensate the losses of Great Britain. This affair might have been amicably terminated, had not the coal of dissention been blown from another quarter. Spain mustered up a claim of sixty-eight thousand pounds upon the African company concerned in the negroes, and refused to pay the ninety-five thousand pounds, till the sixty-eight thousand pounds were deduced; nay, so high did they rise in their demands, that Thomas Geraldine declared, his master would as soon part with his eyes, as with his right of visiting ships in the American seas. But perhaps things had not so soon been carried to an extremity, if the Spanish ambassador had not informed his court of the divisions in parliament, and that,
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by some well-placed sums, it was easy to get a majority which might obtain such sums as they pleased. This, with the bishop of Rennes's declaration at Madrid, of the people being ripe for a revolution, inflamed the Spaniards the more, which made them seize the British ships wherever they could find them. On the twenty-third of October, 1739, war was declared against Spain; who followed, in her turn, on the eighth of November.

Admiral Vernon, who had been sent to the West Indies for protecting our trade, had taken Porto Bello on the twenty-second of November, and received thirty thousand piasters as a ransom for not pillaging the town. On the first of April he sailed to Carthagena, whose outworks he took, and then sailed victorious up to the harbour of the town, and debarked the land forces, under cover of the cannon from the ships; but a violent rain falling, which is mortal to our soldiers in those parts, and the ladders being too short, through an error in the mathematician who computed the height of the wall of fort St. Lazara, they were obliged to retire, after trying what bravery itself would do. Hence Spain rose in her demands; and, being secretly assisted by the French, she was the more active in prosecuting her mighty projects.

About a year after the beginning of the war with Spain, an event happened, which, for eight years together, occasioned the most melancholy scenes: the emperor Charles VI.
died,

died, the ninth of October 1740; which day his eldest daughter, now empress, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchess of Austria; her ministers at the several courts of Europe notified her accession, and supported the legality of what was done, from her claim, in consequence of the will of Ferdinand I. and of the deed of Charles VI. himself, dated the twentieth of June 1722; wherein, with the unanimous voice of a general diet of the states of Hungary, then met at Presburg, an act was passed for settling the succession of that crown on the female line of the house of Austria, with their descendants, in failure of male issue, according to the right of primogeniture. The queen's title was acknowledged by several princes; but the elector of Bavaria refused, and put in for it himself, founding his pretensions to the Austrian succession upon the same will of Ferdinand I. and descent from Charles V. as also, that he was married to the emperor Joseph's daughter. The troops of his electorate marched, in September 1741, in support of his claim, and were followed by thirty thousand French forces, under pretence of securing the electing an emperor according to the treaty of Westphalia, of which their king was the guarantee.

On the other hand, his Britannick majesty supported the Pragmatick Sanction, and opposed the fixing of an emperor by the influence of the court of Versailles; and, though
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Hungarian majesty was attacked by the king of Prussia, who marched his troops, on the fourteenth of December, to protect Silesia from insults, and, at the same time, deprived of assistance from the Russians, between whom and the Swedes a war had been just kindled; yet, under all these disadvantages, was she assisted by the British nation.

During the winter of the year 1741, the armies were active abroad; Lintz, and a few other places were taken by the Austrians, who gained some advantages in the field, and extended into Bavaria itself. At home, the parliament was taken up with examining into the merits of elections; many of which being carried against sir Robert Walpole, he resigned his places into his majesty's hands; on which a total change ensued in the ministry. A resolution was taken for supporting the queen of Hungary, and restoring the balance of power, which must have been entirely destroyed, if the treaty of dividing the dominions of the house of Austria had succeeded, according to the proposal of France. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred thousand pounds were given her; a considerable body of British troops were sent to Flanders, the command of which, as also of the Hanoverians and Hessians, was given to the earl of Stair; who now began, like the sun, after setting for a long night, to rise with the brighter lustre. In March 1742, he was made field-marshal of his majesty's forces, and ambassador-

ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general.

This sudden rise procured him the love of every true Briton; and the king, on seeing him, received him with a tenderness and affection which convinced all present, that his majesty was inclined to remember the maxim of the wisest of kings: viz. Not to forget his father's friend.

After this he was introduced to the prince of Wales, who behaved with that endearing sweetness, which proclaimed him the life, the hopes, and the ornament of the British nation.

The whole court admired him; his old friends repaired to him, and those he received with peculiar marks of gratitude and complaisance. In a word, his former disgrace made him shine the brighter; the poets of the time vied in singing his eulogium; and Britain resounded with his praise, while Europe stood amazed, expecting some extraordinary event, upon the restoration of a degraded favourite, the fame of whose transactions had formerly echoed thro' their territories.

He directly applied himself to the management of the important business committed to him; and, knowing that he had to deal with the ambassadors of Spain, France, and the new emperor, he assiduously studied their memorials, and made answer to them before he set out for Holland, where, on the tenth of April, five days after his arrival, being conducted to a
public

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public audience of their high mightinesses, he made to them a very spirited harangue, which had the desired effect.

This memorial was followed by another, of the eighteenth of August, in which the pressing instances of the queen of Hungary, for assistance from his Britannic majesty, against a powerful French army, were laid down, and the pitiful artifices of the French detected. To mention every transaction of this unequalled statesman, would swell this article beyond the extent of so small a volume; suffice it then to say, that the earl of Stair at length brought about a general pacification with the aforementioned nations, and seemingly to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned; but not till after the famous battle of Dettingen, where he, for the last time, distinguished himself, in concert with king George II. as a general of undaunted bravery and intrepidity, added to the most consummate wisdom; to whose generalship and accomplishments in the art military, the English nation owes the glory of that day. Soon after this action he petitioned to resign, which being granted him, he again returned to the pleasures of a country life; but, ever ready to serve his king and country; upon the breaking out of the late rebellion he repaired to court, and offered his service to suppress it, which was gladly accepted, and he accompanied the duke of Cumberland to Edinburgh, driving the pretender and his rabble army before them. After

ter the suppression of this insurrection, he continued at court till the winter of year 1746, when he repaired to Scotland, finding himself in a languishing condition, and unfit for business. By the help of his physicians he was preserved till about ten at night of the seventh of May, 1747, when he breathed out a life spent in as eminent services for his country, as ever was that of a subject.

Thus died field-marshal John earl of Stair, who was a nobleman of the rarest abilities, equally fitted for the camp or the court; and how hard is it to say in which he excelled? A man of the strictest honour and veracity; great without pride, beautiful without vanity, just without rigour, wise without arrogance, bountiful without ostentation; supporting the highest of dignity with a decency, humanity, and moderation, only to be found among the great, being possessed of every talent that could make a man great in himself, serviceable to his king, or an ornament to his country.

The earl of Stair was a man about six feet high, exceeding strait and genteel in his body, which inclined to an agreeable slenderness; he was, perhaps, one of the handsomest men of his time, and remarkable, among the nobility, for his graceful mién and majestic appearance; his complexion was fair, but rather comely than delicate; his forehead was large and graceful, his nose was strait, and exquisitely proportioned to his face; his eyes were exactly fitted to his features, being of a blue colour,

and full of sweetness; his cheeks and chin every way delightful, while the other parts of his body were so fitly united, that one could not but admire and love him the moment he appeared; for his amiable countenance, in which there was imprinted a natural smile, could not fail to inspire the spectators with a warmth of affection not to be accounted for: these endowments of body were but indications of the beauties of the nobler part, and which, as he possessed them both in their highest perfection, it is imagined, that all true lovers of liberty will imitate the steps of him, who was the darling of his country, and whom human nature may ever boast of, for having produced so great a son.





Henry Fielding Esq.^r engraving by W. Kent

THE LIFE OF

HENRY FIELDING.

HENRY FIELDING was born at Sparham-park, in Somersetshire, near Glastonbury, on the twenty-second of April, 1707.

His father, Edmund Fielding, served in the wars under the duke of Marlborough, and arrived at the rank of lieutenant-general, at the latter end of George I. or the beginning of George II. His mother was the daughter of Judge Gold, the grandfather of the present Sir Henry Gold, one of the barons of the Exchequer.

By these his parents he had four sisters, Catherine, Ursula, Anne, and Beatrice; and one brother, Edmund, who was an officer in the marine service. His second sister, his third sister, is well known in the literary world by many elegant performances.

Our author's mother having paid her debt to nature, lieutenant-general Fielding married a second time, and the issue of that marriage was six sons, George, James, Charles, John, William, and Basil; all dead except John, who is at present in the commission of the

peace for Middlesex, Surry, Essex, and the liberties of Westminster.

Henry Fielding received the first rudiments of his education at home, under the care of the reverend Mr. Oliver, of whom he has given a very humorous and striking portrait in Joseph Andrews, under the name of parson Trulliber.

From Mr. Oliver's care he was removed to Eton school, where he became acquainted with lord Lyttleton, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the late Mr. Winnington, &c. When he left this great seminary, he was said to be uncommonly versed in the Greek and Latin classics; for both which he ever retained a strong admiration.

From Eton he was sent to Leyden, and there he studied the civilians for about two years; but remittances failing, at the age of twenty, or thereabout, he returned from Leyden to London; where, though under age, he found himself his own master; from which source flowed all the inconveniencies that attended him throughout the remainder of his life. The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high relish of social enjoyment, soon brought him into request with the men of taste and literature, and with the voluptuous of all ranks. His finances were not equal to the frequent draughts made upon him by the extravagance which naturally followed. He was allowed, indeed, two hundred pounds
a year

a year by his father; but, as he himself used to say, any body might pay it that would.

The fact was, general Fielding having married again soon after the death of our author's mother, had so large an increase of family, and that too so quick, that he could not spare any considerable disbursements for the maintainance of his eldest son. Of this truth Henry Fielding was sensible; and he was therefore, in whatever difficulties he might be involved, never wanting in filial piety; which, his nearest relations agree, was a shining part of his character.

Disappointments, indeed, were observed to provoke him into occasional peevishness, and severity of animadversion; but his general temper was remarkably gay, and, for the most part, overflowing into wit, mirth and good-humour.

As he disdained all littleness of spirit, where ever he met with it in his dealings with the world, his indignation was apt to rise; and, as he was of a penetrating discernment, he could always develope selfishness, mistrust, pride, avarice, interested friendship, the ungenerous, and the unfeeling temper, however plausibly disguised; and, as he could reach them to the bottom, so he could likewise assault them with the keenest strokes of spirited and manly satire. Disagreeable impressions never continued long upon his mind; his imagination was fond of seizing every gay prospect; and, in his worst

adversities, filled him with sanguine hopes of a better situation. To obtain this, he flattered himself that he should find his resources in his wit and invention; and accordingly he commenced a writer for the stage in the year 1727, being then about twenty years of age.

His first dramatic piece soon after adventured into the world, and was called *Love in Several Masques*. It immediately succeeded the *Provoked Husband*, a play, which, for the continued space of twenty-eight nights, received as great and as just applauses as ever were bestowed on the English stage. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Fielding's play was favourably received.

His second play, the *Temple Beau*, appeared the year after. From the year 1727 to the end of 1736, almost all his plays and farces were written, not above two or three having appeared since that time; so that he produced about eighteen theatrical performances, plays and farces included, before he was quite thirty years old.

Though in the plan of his pieces he is not always regular, yet he is often happy in his diction and stile; and, in every groupe that he has exhibited, there are to be seen particular delineations that will amply recompense the attention bestowed upon them. The comedy of the *Miser*, which he has mostly taken from *Moliere*, has maintained its ground upon the stage ever since it was first performed; and has the value of a copy from a great painter by an eminent hand.

If the comedy of *Pasquin* was restored to the stage, it would perhaps be a favourite entertainment with our audiences. It is said, that the wit and humour of our modern *Aristophanes*, Mr. Fielding, whose quarry in some of his pieces, particularly the *Historical Register*, was higher game than in prudence he should have chosen, were principal instruments that occasioned the law which subjected all new pieces to the inspection of the licenser.

His farces were almost all of them very successful; and many of them are still acted every winter with approbation. They were generally the production of two or three mornings. The *Lottery*, the *Intriguing Chambermaid*, and the *Virgin Unmasked*, besides the real entertainment they afford, had, on their first appearance, this additional merit, that they served to make discoveries of that true comic genius which was then dawning forth in that celebrated actress Mrs. Clive.

So early as when he was at Leyden, Mr. Fielding made some efforts towards a comedy in the sketch of *Don Quixote* in England. When he left that place, and settled in London, a variety of characters attracted his notice, and of course served to strengthen his favourite inclination: the inconsistencies that flow from vanity, from affectation, from hypocrisy, from pretended friendship, and, in short, all the dissonant qualities which are often whimsically blended together by the follies of men,

could not fail to strike a person, who had so fine a sense of ridicule; and, accordingly, we find that he never seems so happy, as when he is developing a character made up of motley and repugnant properties.

To search out and describe objects of this kind, seems to have been the favourite bent of his mind; and, from his happy description of the manners, he may justly be pronounced an admirable comic genius in the largest acceptation of the phrase, implying humorous and pleasant imitation of men and manners, whether in the way of fabulous narration, or of dramatic composition.

In the former species of writing lay the excellence of Mr. Fielding: in dramatic imitation he must be allowed to fall short of the great masters in that art. What the ingenious Mr. Hurd observes of Ben. Johnson, may be justly applied to Fielding:

“ His taste for ridicule was strong, but indelicate, which made him not over curious in the choice of his topics. His style in picturing his characters, though masterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of so bold a colouring. Thus the bias of his nature leaning him to Plautus, rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered, that his wit is too frequently caustic, his raillery coarse, and his humour excessive.”

This

This want of refinement seems to have been principally owing to the woundings which every fresh disappointment gave Fielding, before he was yet well disciplined in the school of life ; and, perhaps too, the asperity of his muse was not a little encouraged by the practice of two great wits, who had fallen into the same vein before him ; I mean Wycherley and Congreve, who were not fond of copying the amiable part of human life.

In his style, Mr. Fielding derived an error from the same source ; he sometimes forgot that humour and ridicule were the two principal ingredients of comedy ; and, like Congreve, he frequently aimed at decorations of wit, which do not appear to make any part of the ground, but seem rather to be embroidered upon it.

There is another circumstance respecting the drama, in which Fielding's judgment seems to have failed him : the strength of his genius certainly lay in fabulous narration, and he did not sufficiently consider, that some incidents of a story which, when related, may be worked up into a deal of pleasantry and humour, are apt, when thrown into action, to excite sensations incompatible with humour and ridicule.

To these causes of his failure in the province of the drama, may be added that sovereign contempt he always entertained for the understandings of the generality of mankind. It was in vain to tell him, that a particular scene was dangerous on account of its coar-

ness, or because it retarded the general business with feeble efforts of wit; he doubted the discernment of his auditors, and so thought himself secured by their stupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. A very remarkable instance of this disposition appeared when the comedy of the *Wedding Day* was put into rehearsal.

An actor, who was principally concerned in the piece, and, though young, was then, by the advantage of happy requisites, an early favourite of the public, told Mr. Fielding, he was apprehensive, that the audience would make free with him in a particular passage; adding, that a repulse might so hurry his spirits as to disconcert him for the rest of the night, and therefore begged that it might be omitted. "No, d-----mn 'em," replied the bard, "if the scene is not a good one, let them find that out."

Accordingly the play was brought on without alteration; and, just as had been foreseen, the disapprobation of the house was provoked at the passage before objected to; and the performer, alarmed and uneasy at the hisses he had met with, retired into the Green-room, where the author was solacing himself with a bottle of champagne. He had by this time drank pretty plentifully, and cocking his eye at the actor, while streams of tobacco trickled down from the corner of his mouth, "What's the matter, Garrick," says he, "what are they hissing now?" "Why, the scene that I begged

begged you to retrench ; I knew it would not do ; and they have so frightened me, that I shall not be able to collect myself again the whole night." " Oh I d - mn 'em," replies the author, " they have found it out, have they ?"

If we add to the foregoing remarks an observation of his own ; namely, that he left off writing for the stage, when he ought to have begun ; and, together with this, consider his extreme hurry and dispatch, we shall be able fully to account for his not bearing a more distinguished place in the rank of dramatic writers.

It is apparent, that, in the frame and constitution of his genius there was no defect, but, some faculty or other was suffered to lie dormant, and the rest, of course, were exerted with less efficacy : at one time we see his wit superseding all his other talents ; at another, his invention runs riot, and multiplies incidents and characters in a manner repugnant to all the received laws of the drama. Generally his judgment was very little consulted ; and, indeed, how could it be otherwise ? When he had contracted to bring on a play, or a farce, he would go home rather late from a tavern, and would, the next morning, deliver a scene to the players written upon the papers which wrapped up the tobacco in which he so much delighted.

Though it was the lot of Henry Fielding to write always with a view to profit, he derived

but small aids towards his subsistence from the treasurer of the play-house. One of his farces he has printed as it was damned at the theatre royal in Drury-lane; and that he might be more generous to his enemies than they were willing to be to him, he informs them, in the general preface to his *Miscellanies*, that, for the *Wedding Day*, though acted six nights, his profits from the house did not exceed fifty pounds.

A fate not much better attended him in his earlier productions: but the severity of the public, and the malice of his enemies, met with a noble alleviation from the patronage of the late duke of Richmond, John duke of Argyll, [the late duke of Roxborough, and many persons of distinguished rank and character; among whom may be numbered the present lord Lyttleton, whose friendship to our author softened the rigour of his misfortunes while he lived, and exerted itself towards his memory when he was no more, by taking pains to clear up imputations of a particular kind, which had been thrown out against his character.

Mr. Fielding had not been long a writer for the stage, when he married miss Craddock, a beauty from Salisbury. About that time his mother dying, a moderate estate, at Stower, in Dorsetshire, devolved to him. To that place he retired with his wife, on whom he doated, with a resolution to bid adieu to all the follies and intemperances of a town life.

But

But, unfortunately, a kind of family pride here gained an ascendant over him, and he began immediately to vie in splendor with the neighbouring country squires. With an estate not much above two hundred pounds a year, and his wife's fortune, which did not exceed fifteen hundred pounds, he encumbered himself with a large retinue of servants, all clad in costly yellow liveries. For their master's honour, these people could not descend so low, as to be careful in their apparel, but in a month or two were unfit to be seen; the squire's dignity required that they should be new equipped; and his chief pleasure consisted in society and convivial mirth, hospitality threw open his doors, and in less than three years, entertainments, hounds, and horses, entirely devoured a little patrimony, which, had it been managed with œconomy, might have secured to him a state of independence for the rest of his life. Sensible of the disagreeable situation he had now reduced himself to, he immediately determined to exert his best endeavours to recover, what he had wantonly thrown away, a decent competence; and being then about thirty years of age, he betook himself to the study of the law. The friendships he met with from some, who have since risen to be the first ornaments of the law, will ever do honour to his memory. His application, while he was a student in the Temple, was remarkably intense: he has been frequently known, by his intimates, to retire

retire late at night from a tavern to his chambers, and there read, and make extracts from the most abstruse authors, for several hours before he went to bed. After the customary time of probation at the Temple, he was called to the bar. He attended with assiduity, both in term-time and on the Western circuit, as long as his health permitted; but the gout soon rendered it impossible for him to be as constant at the bar, as the laboriousness of his profession required: he could only now follow the law by snatches, at such intervals as were free from indisposition; which could not but be a dispiriting circumstance, as he saw himself at once disabled from ever rising to the eminence he aspired to. However, under the severities of pain and want, he still pursued his researches with an eagerness of curiosity peculiar to him; and, though it is wittily remarked by Wycherly, that Apollo and Lytton seldom meet in the same brain, yet Mr. Fielding is allowed to have acquired a respectable share of jurisprudence, and in some particular branches he is said to have risen to a great degree of eminence, more especially in crown law, as may be judged from his leaving two volumes in folio on that subject. This work remains still unpublished, in the hands of his brother, sir John Fielding; and it is deemed perfect in some parts. It will serve to give us an idea of the great force and vigour of his mind, if we consider him pursuing so arduous a study under the exigencies of family

HENRY FIELDING. 111

family distress, with a wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, looking up to him for subsistence, with a body lacerated by the acutest pains, and with a mind distracted with a thousand avocations, and obliged, for immediate supply, to produce, almost extempore, a play, a farce, a pamphlet, or a newspaper.

A large number of fugitive political tracts, which had their value when the incidents were actually passing on the great scene of business, came from his pen: the periodical paper, called the *Champion*, owed its chief support to his abilities; and though his essays in that collection cannot now be ascertained, yet the reputation arising to him, at the time of publication, was not inconsiderable.

In the progress of Henry Fielding's talents, there seem to have been three remarkable periods; one, when his genius broke forth at once, with an effulgence superior to all the rays of light it had before emitted, like the sun in his morning glory; the second, when it was displayed with collected force, and a fulness of perfection, like the sun in meridian majesty; and the third, when the same genius, grown more cool and temperate, still continued to cheer and enliven, but shewed at the same time that it was tending to its decline, like the sun, abating from his ardor, but still gilding the western hemisphere.

To these three epochas of our author's genius, there is an exact correspondency, in his
Joseph

Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones, and Amelia. It will not be improper here to mention, that the reverend Mr. Young, a learned and much esteemed friend of Mr. Fielding's, sat for parson Adams. Mr. Young was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the Greek authors, and had as passionate a veneration for *Æschylus* as parson Adams; the overflowings of his benevolence were as strong, and his fits of reverie were as frequent, and occurred, too, upon the most interesting occasions. Of this last observation a singular instance is given, by a gentleman who served, during the last war, in Flanders, in the very same regiment to which Mr. Young was chaplain: on a fine summer's evening, he thought proper to indulge himself in his love of a solitary walk; and accordingly he sallied forth from his tent: the beauties of the hemisphere, and the landscape round him, pressed warmly on his imagination; his heart overflowed with benevolence to all God's creatures, and gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of that emanation of glory which covered the face of things. It is very possible that a passage in his dearly-beloved *Æschylus* occurred to his memory on this occasion, and seduced his thoughts into a profound meditation. Whatever was the object of his reflections, certain it is, that something did powerfully seize his imagination, so as to preclude all attention to things that lay immediately before him; and, in that deep fit of absence, Mr. Young proceeded on his

his

journey, till he arrived, very quietly and calmly, in the enemy's camp, where he was, with difficulty, brought to a recollection of himself, by the repetition of "*Qui va là,*" from the soldiers upon duty. The officer who commanded, finding that he had strayed thither in the undesigning simplicity of his heart, and seeing an innate goodness in his prisoner, which commanded his respect, very politely gave him leave to pursue his contemplations home again.

Soon after the publication of *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding's last comedy, the *Wedding Day*, was exhibited on the stage: and, as we have already observed, it was attended with an indifferent share of success. The law, from this time, had its hot and cold fits with him. The repeated shocks of illness disabled him from being as assiduous an attendant at the bar, as his own inclination, and patience of the most laborious application, would otherwise have made him. Besides the demands for expence, which his velerudinarian habit of body constantly made upon him, he had likewise a family to maintain; from business he derived little or no supplies; and his prospects, therefore, grew every day more gloomy and melancholy. To these discouraging circumstances, if we add the infirmity of his wife, whom he loved tenderly, and the agonies he felt on her account, the measures of his afflictions will be well nigh full. To see her daily languishing and wearing away
before

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before his eyes, was too much for a man of his strong sensations; the fortitude of mind, with which he met all the other calamities of life, deserted him on this most trying occasion; and her death, which happened about this time, brought on such a vehemence of grief, that his friends began to think him in danger of losing his reason.

When the first emotions of his sorrow were abated, he began again to struggle with his fortune. He engaged in two periodical papers successively. The first of these was called *The True Patriot*, which was set on foot during the late rebellion, and was conducive to the excitement of loyalty, and a love for the constitutions in the breast of his countrymen. The *Jacobite Journal* was calculated to discredit the shattered remains of an unsuccessful party; and, by a well-applied raillery and ridicule, to bring the sentiments of the disaffected into contempt.

By this time Fielding had attained the age of forty-three; and, being incessantly pursued by reiterated attacks of the gout, he was wholly rendered incapable of pursuing the business of a barrister any longer. He was obliged therefore to accept the office of an acting magistrate in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, with a yearly pension out of the public-service-money.

That he was not inattentive to the calls of his duty, is evident from the many tracts he published relating to several of the penal laws, and

and to the vices and mal-practices which these laws were intended to restrain ; particularly A Charge to the Grand-Jury, delivered at Westminster, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1749 ; the Enquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Robberies ; and A Proposal for the Maintenance of the Poor.

Amidst these severe exercises of his understanding, and all the laborious duties of his office, his invention could not lie still ; but he found leisure to amuse himself, and afterwards the world, with *The History of Tom Jones*. And now we are arrived at the second grand epoch of Mr. Fielding's genius, when all his faculties were in perfect unison, and conspired to produce a complete work, eminent in all the great essentials of composition ; in fable, character, sentiment, and elocution ; and, as these could not be all united in so high an assemblage, without a rich invention, a fine imagination, an enlightened judgment, and a lively wit, we may fairly here decide his character, and pronounce him, the English Cervantes.

It may be added, that, in many parts of *Tom Jones*, we find he possessed the softer graces of character painting, and of description ; many situations and sentiments are touched with a delicate hand, and throughout the work he seems to feel as much delight in describing the amiable part of human nature, as in early days he had in exaggerating the strong and harsh features of turpitude and deformity.

formity. This circumstance breathes an air of philanthropy through his work.

Thus have we traced our author in his progress to the time when the vigour of his mind was in its full growth of perfection; from this period it sunk, but by slow degrees, into a decline. *Amelia*, which succeeded *Tom Jones*, in about four years, has indeed the marks of genius, but of a genius beginning to fall into its decay. *Amelia* is the *Odyssey*, the moral, and pathetic work of Henry Fielding.

While he was planning and executing this piece, it should be remembered, that he was distracted by that multiplicity of avocations which surround a public magistrate; and his constitution, now greatly impaired and enfeebled, was labouring under the attacks of the gout, which were of course severer than ever. However, the activity of his mind was not to be subdued: one literary pursuit was no sooner over than fresh game arose. A periodical paper, under the title of *The Covent Garden Journal*, by Sir Alexander Drawcanfir, knight, and Censor-general of Great-Britain, was immediately set on foot. It was published twice in every week, viz. on Tuesday and Saturday, and conducted so much to the entertainment of the public, that it was felt with a general regret, that the author's health did not enable him to persist in the undertaking any longer.

Soon after this work was dropped, by the advice of physicians Mr. Fielding set out for Lisbon.

Lisbon. The last gleams of his wit and humour sparkled in the account he left behind him of his Voyage to that place. In this his last sketch, he puts us in mind of a person, under sentence of death, jesting on the scaffold; for his strength was now quite exhausted; and, in about two months after his arrival at Lisbon, he yielded his last breath, in the year 1754, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He left behind him (for he married a second time) a wife and four children, three of which are still living, and are now training up, in a handsome course of education, under the care of their uncle, with the aid of a very generous donation, given annually by Ralph Allen, esq. for that purpose. An instance of humanity, which the reader did not want to learn of him, whose life is a constant effusion of munificence; but for the sake of a writer, whose works have afforded such exquisite entertainment, he will be glad to know, that the generous patron of the father, is now the tender guardian of his orphans.

Thus was closed a course of disappointment, distress, vexation, infirmity, and study; for with each of these his life was variously chequered; and, perhaps, in stronger proportions than has been the lot of many.

We have seen how Mr. Fielding very soon squandered away his small patrimony, which, with œconomy, might have procured him independence; we have seen how far he ruined,
into

into the bargain, a constitution which, in its original texture, seemed formed to last much longer. When indigence and illness were once let in upon him, he no longer remained master of his own actions, and that once delicacy of conduct, which alone constitutes and preserves a character, was obliged to give way.

When he was not under the immediate urgency of war, they who were intimate with him, are ready to aver, that he had a mind greatly superior to any thing mean or little; when his finances were exhausted, he was not the most elegant in his choice of the means to redress himself, and he would instantly exhibit a farce, or a puppet-show, in the Hay-market theatre; which was wholly inconsistent with the profession he had embarked in. But his intimates can witness how much his pride suffered when he was forced into measures of this kind; no man having a juster sense of propriety, or more honourable ideas of the employment of an author and a scholar.

Henry Fielding was in stature rather rising above six feet; his frame of body large, and remarkably robust, till the gout had broke the vigour of his constitution.



Robt Walpole

THE LIFE OF
ROBERT WALPOLE.

THE right honourable Sir Robert Walpole was born at Houghton, on the sixth of September, 1674. He was educated on the foundation at Lton school; from thence he went to King's College in Cambridge; and there admitted, on the twelfth of April, in the place of Horsenden Cannon, 1681; but, by the death of his brother, becoming intitled to the estate, which was inconsistent with the tenure of his fellowship, he resigned the same.

He rebuilt, in the most magnificent manner, the antient seat of his family, Houghton.

He was first elected to parliament, at King's Lynn, in the year 1700, and was returned for that borough in most of the parliaments while he continued a commoner, except during the interval of one session, in 1711; when his extraordinary weight and interest in the commons, in opposing the pernicious measures then carried on, rendered it highly necessary for those, who were resolved to gain their point, to get him out of the house; which was accordingly done, and he was committed

to the Tower, where he continued during the remainder of that session: However, he was chosen again for the same place, even during his confinement; and none of the threats which were sent down could either deter, or have the least influence, upon that steady corporation, or cause them to swerve from the fixed opinion they had long entertained of his eminent services and strict adherence to the interests of his country.

In June, 1705, he was nominated, among others, to be one of the council to his royal highness prince George of Denmark, lord-high admiral of England, in the affairs of the Admiralty.

In 1707, he was constituted secretary of war; and treasurer of the Navy, in January, 1709.

Upon Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment he was chosen one of the managers of the House of Commons to make good the articles against him; and the managers had the thanks of the House of Commons for their services.

On the change of the ministry, which happened in August, 1710, he was removed from all his posts, and held no place afterwards during the remaining part of the queen's reign.

But his known abilities, and his remarkable zeal for the succession of the house of Hanover, which he had so warmly and successfully asserted, brought him into the service of his country again, soon after king George

the

the First's accession to the throne; and accordingly he was made paymaster to the guards and garrisons at home, and to the forces abroad, September 23, 1714, five days after the king's landing. And a new privy council being appointed to meet on the first of October, 1715, he was sworn thereof, and took his place accordingly. On the tenth day of the same month he was constituted first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and the same year chosen chairman to the committee of secrecy, appointed by the house of Commons, to enquire into the conduct of those evil ministers, that brought a reproach on the nation, by the unsuitable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expence; and attended with such unparalleled successes.

On the tenth of April, 1717, he voluntarily resigned both his high posts, of first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

On the fourth of June, 1720, he was once more made paymaster general of all his majesty's forces; and, on the fourth of May, first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. His majesty declaring to his parliament, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1723, that some extraordinary affairs required his presence abroad for the summer, he was pleased to nominate him one of the lords justices for the administration of the government; and he was, by his majesty's command, sworn

sole secretary of state, during the absence of the lord viscount Townshend, and the lord Carteret, who accompanied the king to Hanover.

His majesty conferred the dignity of knighthood of the most honourable order of the Bath, upon him, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1725, at the time when his royal highness prince William (now duke of Cumberland) and several lords and persons of distinction, were invested with the ensigns of that order. And on the seventh of June, the same year, he declared him one of the lords justices, for the administration of affairs, during his continuance at Hanover.

On the 26th of May, 1726, he was elected knight companion of the most noble order of the Garter (with his grace the duke of Richmond) and installed at Windsor on the sixteenth of June following. He resigned the red ribband of the order of the Bath, in a chapter held the sixth of June, 1728.

Sir Robert Walpole married Catherine, daughter of John Shorter, esq; (and of Elizabeth his wife, daughter of sir Erasmus Philips, of Pistoia-castle in Pembroke-shire, bart.) by whom he had three sons, viz. Robert, Edward, and Horatio. His only daughter, Mary, married to the lord viscount Malpass, son and heir apparent to the right honourable George earl of Cholmondeley, died of a consumption in France, in 1731-2; but her corpse was brought over, and interred at Houghton.

By

ROBERT WALPOLE. 123

By letters patent, bearing date the first of June, 1723, Robert, his eldest son, and heir apparent, was created a peer of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title, of Baron Walpole of Walpole in the county of Norfolk.

The reasons which induced his majesty king George I. to confer this dignity, are thus set forth in the preamble to his patent, viz.

FORASMUCH as our right-trusty and well-beloved counsellor Robert Walpole, one of the lords commissioners of our treasury, and chancellor of our exchequer, has recommended himself to us, our family, and his country, by his great merits and extraordinary endowments, we deemed it a duty incumbent upon us to call him up to the rank of Peerage.

But as he was more ambitious of meriting honours, than acquiring them; that his family might, at least, be ennobled, we have resolved to confer those honours on the son, which were his father's due; and to rank Robert Walpole the younger among our nobility. From which gentleman, whatever is great, or glorious, may reasonably be expected. He has long since shewn a very ripe genius to literature, and the sciences, and now resolves to bring whatever is worthy his notice from foreign countries.

And as he has one at home, who will be his instructor in whatever may have escaped his observation abroad, we make no doubt,

but, by the assistance of so able a guide, he will deliver the dignity, derived from his father's merits, enlarged to his posterity.

It is moreover our pleasure, that a youth of such extraordinary hopes, should take his titles from the place, whence the antient family of Walpole derived their name which family hath flourished, in the county of Norfolk, ever since the reign of Edward I. where it has been always held and esteemed among those of the chiefest note.

The arms of Walpole, are,

I. Or, on a Fess, between two Chevrans Sable; three Cross-Crosets of the First.

II. Crest. On a Wreath, the Bust of a Man side faced, couped Proper; with a long cap, Gules, thereon a Catherine-Wheel.

This crest belonged to the family of Robsart, and was given in honour of the memory of Sir John Robsart, Knight of the Garter, for his eminent services against the Saracens.

III. Supporters. On the Dexter-Side, an Antelope, and on the Sinister, a Buck, both Argent, attired Proper, gorged with Collars; Checkie, Or, and Azure, each having a chain thereto affixed; their Hoofs gold.

IV. Motto. *Fari quæ sentiat.*

His lordship, soon after his return to England, married Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Samuel Rolle, of Heanton, in the county

ROBERT WALPOLE. 125
county of Devon, esq; on Thursday the
27th of March, 1724.

Sir Robert had too many places of honour and profit under the government, to escape the censure and calumny of the ambitious, sordid, or envious people about the court; no wonder, then, that he fell into disgrace, and was accused of bribery, &c. But, to set this matter in a clear light, it will be necessary to consider the resolution which the house of Commons came to, and the crimes that Mr. Walpole is thereby charged with. The resolution was :

THAT Robert Walpole, esq; (a member of this house) in receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of her majesty's troops quartered in North-Britain, made by him when secretary at war, pursuant to a power granted him by the late lord treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption.

The crimes, then, are, a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption; crimes, indeed, of a very heinous nature, and either of them, we shall always think, sufficient to subject any member to the just resentment and censure of parliament; but, at the same time, we cannot be of opinion, that any man ought

to suffer for being barely charged with a crime, unless it be proved upon him, either by positive evidence, or by such circumstances as make the presumption full and clear against him; much less can we consent to censure or punish any man, when most circumstances concur in his justification, where the presumption is stronger in his favour than to his prejudice; and especially where there is positive evidence upon oath to acquit, and not any direct evidence to convict; which seems to have been Mr. Walpole's case.

As to the first article, of the breach of trust, we must observe, that, after Mr. Walpole had been heard in his place, and was withdrawn, there was not one member in the house that did in the least insist on that head; all that spoke were either silent upon it, or did even admit, that he had cleared himself of all imputation upon that score; so that, indeed, we can no ways account how that came to be part of the censure; but that being made part of the pocket-question, agreed upon the night before, not one word of it was to be altered, let the evidence upon hearing be what it would.

To remove all suspicion of Mr. Walpole's having any prospect of advantage to himself; or any body else, in making the contract, he proved, first, That it was not in his power, as not being the only person employed or intrusted by the government to make the contracts. And, second, That the contracts were made
upon

upon the lowest and most advantageous terms that could possibly be had for the government.

Upon the march of the English dragoons into Scotland, which, by the laws of Scotland, could not be quartered in that part of the kingdom, according to the method prescribed by the laws of England, the duke of Queensberry, the earls of Mar, Loudon, and Seafield, and other Scots lords, that were of the queen's most honourable privy council, were ordered to meet and consider of the most proper methods of providing forage for the troops in North Britain; who summoned to their assistance all the Scots officers of dragoons that were then in London, and did give their opinions to her majesty, that the most proper and practicable method of providing forage, was to make contracts with commissaries of forage, as has been usually practised in Scotland; and recommended sir Samuel Maclellan, lord provost of Edinburgh, who had frequently been employed in this service before the Union, as a proper person to be treated with.

The proposals of sir Samuel Maclellan were referred to lieutenant-general Erle, Mr. Howe, paymaster-general to her majesty's forces, and Mr. Walpole; who, at several meetings, did likewise consult all the Scots officers: and the prices of nine-pence, and three-pence half-penny, for dry and green forage, for each twenty-four hours, were judged reasonable, from the best information that could be had;

and agreed to accordingly, by Mr. Erle, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Walpole, who were jointly and equally concerned, with Mr. Walpole, in settling and agreeing the prices, although the contract was afterwards prepared and executed by him, by virtue of his office as secretary at war. And this Mr. Erle did declare in the house of Commons, at the time when the matter was under consideration.

As the making the contract, and agreeing the prices and conditions, was not left solely to Mr. Walpole, so he proved, beyond contradiction, that the bargain was, upon all accounts, made upon as advantageous terms for the public as possibly could be had; and this was made to appear, by comparing the contract with all former contracts made before the union; with the prices that the English dragoons had been obliged to pay from the time they marched into Scotland to the making of the contract; and with the prices which the Scotch dragoons had paid that very year before a provision had been made for them by contract.

But a contract having afterwards been made at lower rates, an inference was drawn from thence of the unreasonableness of the contract; but, if this contract was justifiable, compared with all former contracts, and the circumstances and prices which governed at that time, it is very unjust to make any imputation from the plenty or scarcity, dearth or cheapness, of forage that might afterwards happen. Besides, the

the new contract that was made upon lower terms proved destructive of the service, as appeared by a Memorial signed by the colonels and commanding officers; which was presented at the War office, setting forth,

That, upon account of the forage which was contracted for at such low rates, the country cannot afford to bring it to quarters, nor to give good in its kind; and that the contractor has not any magazines as he ought to have for the necessary supply of the troops; for want whereof the troops are so dispersed, and separated at such distances, that they are rendered utterly incapable of any service, and the officers can no ways be answerable for their good order and discipline.

By what has been said, it appears, that all possible care and precaution was used to obtain the most advantageous terms that could be had for the government; and that the forage could not be supplied at lower rates consistent with the service; which leaves no room to suspect that the contract was made with any view or prospect of a private advantage to Mr. Walpole; or any other person; and seems sufficiently to clear Mr. Walpole from the first part of the charge, wherein he is said to be guilty of a high breach of trust.

We come now to the second article, wherein Mr. Walpole is charged with notorious corruption.

A censure of this nature ought to be grounded upon evidence; where the notoriety of the fact makes the truth unquestionable; and not upon suspicion, which cannot, in any justice, be thought sufficient to call a crime notorious; and, that there was nothing but a bare suspicion in this case, may truly be affirmed, because we think the charge itself amounts to no more before it comes to be controverted; but, when positive and express evidence upon oath is brought in opposition to a bare presumption, with what justice can a crime be called notorious? But, if what was offered in this case had been only in mitigation of the crime, we should not have thought the proceedings so very extraordinary: but, as the evidence that was given, in our judgment, acquitted Mr. Walpole, we will endeavour to give our readers the same satisfaction that was given us, by considering and stating, as far as we are able to recollect it, the evidence as it stood on both sides.

The ground of the charge is contained in Mr. Montgomery's deposition, the chief part of the defence in the deposition of Mr. Mann, and the narrative of colonel Douglas. The two first were sworn before the commissioners of public accounts, and the narrative is the substance of the evidence which colonel Douglas gave in his place, as a member of parliament; which, for Mr. Walpole's further justification, he reduced into writing and signed.

Here likewise we must beg leave to observe, that neither the deposition of Mr. Mann, nor the narrative of colonel Douglas, do any ways contradict the deposition of Mr. Montgomery, but only explain the facts and assertions, which are not in themselves a direct charge, but seem conceived in general and obscure terms, on purpose to leave room for those inferences that were drawn from them.

The fact charged is, Mr. Walpole's receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and taking a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for storage made by him, &c.

The evidence to support this is, that part of Mr. Montgomery's deposition which says,

“ This deponent gave Mr. Walpole a bill, or note, payable to himself, or order, and delivered it into his hands; and, that he paid the said sum to Mr. Mann, who delivered the note to this deponent with Mr. Walpole's receipt on the back of it.”

The like for the second year. The question will then be, Upon what account were these notes given to Mr. Walpole? and, Whether the money was received by him, for him, or for whose use?

Mr. Montgomery, the informer, swears, That Sir Samuel Maclellan, who made the first contract with Mr. Walpole, told him, when he was at London, and soon after upon his

death bed at Edinburgh did declare the same, That a friend of Mr. Walpole's was to be a sharer in the contract.

Colonel Douglas, who was equally concerned, declares, that Sir Samuel told him, That, among others, he had admitted a gentleman ~~at~~ London, recommended to him by Mr. Walpole, for a share; and, that he always understood, that a sharer was to bear equal risque with the rest in case any loss should be.

And Mr. Mann swears, That, by an agreement between him and Sir Samuel Maclellan, he was to be a sharer in this undertaking, at equal profit or loss, as should happen or arise in performing the contract, together with such other partners as should be taken into the contract by Sir Samuel Maclellan, upon his arrival in Scotland.

So that all evidence agrees, A third person, a friend of Mr. Walpole's, or recommended by him, was to be concerned; and Mr. Mann swears positively himself to be this third person.

The next step is, Mr. Montgomery swears, That John Campbell and colonel Douglas directed him to pay five hundred guineas to Mr. Walpole. What says colonel Douglas to this? That, Sir Samuel Maclellan being dead, and he not knowing the person, nor at that time remembering his name, judged it most proper to have the money made payable to Mr. Walpole, or order, for the use of his friend; and that

that, upon hearing the name of Mr. Mann, he recollects that to be the name of the gentleman that Sir Samuel Maclellan named, as the person recommended to be a sharer in the contract.

This surely explains why the notes were made payable to Mr. Walpole, and delivered to him; and is a further proof, that Mr. Mann was, from the beginning, the person concerned in the contract, and for whom the share was reserved by Sir Samuel Maclellan.

Mr. Montgomery likewise swears, He paid the said sum to Mr. Mann, who delivered him the note with Mr. Walpole's receipt on the back of it. This Mr. Mann admits to be true, and at the same time declares, That he received the money due by the said note from Montgomery, at several times, for which he gave his own receipts; and, in his own name, at the several times of payment: which receipts, at the payment of the last sum, were cancelled, and a discharge, or receipt-in full, was written upon the back of Mr. Montgomery's note, over Mr. Walpole's name, that was before only a blank endorsement, which was done upon closing the account between Mr. Montgomery and the deponent, as is usual upon the like occasions.

And here it is to be observed, that this note remained all this time in Mr. Mann's hands, until it was taken up and cancelled, together with the several receipts at the payment of the
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last sum. And, in the same affidavit, Mr. Mann further deposes, That the several sums of money received by him from the said Mr. Montgomery, upon the two notes of five hundred guineas and five hundred pounds, were received by him for his own sole use and benefit, and that he has not paid the said sums, nor any part thereof, nor accounted for them, nor is under any obligation or agreement to pay or account for the same, or any part of them, to any person whatsoever; but, that the same does, and is, to remain to his own sole benefit or advantage.

Besides the positive evidence upon oath, the concurring circumstances render even the presumption stronger in Mr. Walpole's favour than to his prejudice. The first contract was made in May, 1709, to determine in May, 1710; but the first note was not given till the twenty-ninth of June, 1710; which was above a twelvemonth after the contract was made. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose, that this was given as a consideration to influence Mr. Walpole, in making a contract, which was executed a year before, and was then expired; or, that it was a proportion of profit, due to Mr. Mann, as a shaffer, for which the other contractors did not account to him, until they saw, at the year's end, the neat profit upon the whole, and could thereby determine what his share amounted to? But may it not be presumed, that Mr. Mann's name was only made use of, and that this
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share was in truth reserved for Mr. Walpole? You have already heard what Mr. Mann's oath says in answer to that. But consider it, by way of argument; Mr. Walpole is supposed, in this way of arguing, to have had caution enough, not to let his own name be made use of for his share, in making a contract with Sir Samuel Maclellan, to have substituted Mr. Mann to meet Sir Samuel at a tavern, and personate him through the whole progress of this affair, where any conversation or discourse was had about it; and not to trust any of the contractors with the secret of his being concerned, (for that Mr. Montgomery did not pretend to say, that ever he had heard or believed; and colonel Douglas declared quite the contrary) and at last, after all this great care and caution, takes the note payable to himself and endorses it.

Is it reasonable to believe, that so much care and caution should be used all along, and at last be forgot, just when it became so necessary? Is it probable there should be so much management, where there was least danger; and, that Mr. Walpole should be so weak, as to give his own hand in evidence against himself, if he had been really concerned? Had it not been as easy to have had the notes made payable to Mr. Mann? or, could that have been forgot, if there had been any art or collusion that was before covered or disguised under his name? For our parts, we think, the notes being made payable to Mr. Walpole, rather

ther argues an innocence than a guilt, because nothing is so common and obvious, as to use a third name, where any sinister end is to be concealed.

What has hitherto been said, relates chiefly to the first note only, but is applicable in general to the whole transaction; but there being some difference in the circumstances between the notes, we must beg the reader's patience for an observation or two that chiefly concern the second note.

It is said, that, admitting all which Mr. Walpole alledges in relation to the first contract to be true, and that there is no blame to be imputed to him on that account, how came Mr. Walpole to make a second contract, upon the same terms, when he knew there was such a profit upon the first?

In answer to this, we appeal to the proceedings of the House of Commons, printed by their order; where, by the dates, you will find that the second contract was made for supplying forage from May, 1709, to the fourteenth of May, 1710; which being then determined, the second contract for forage, from the fifteenth of May, 1710, to the fifteenth of May, 1711, was made before the note was given, which was on the twenty-ninth of June, in the year 1710; and, in consequence, Mr. Walpole, at making the second contract, had no knowledge of the profit that arose from the first.

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A great stress is laid upon Mr. Walpole's having endorsed the first note, which is called a giving his receipt for the money; but the second note, it seems, was never endorsed at all; and yet there had been above four hundred pounds paid upon it, for which receipts were given by Mr. Mann, or for his use, upon distinct papers, and not entered upon the note, nor any mention made of Mr. Walpole, to whom the note was made payable, and without whose order, or endorsement, there could be no discharge for the money.

What stronger presumption can there be, than, that Mr. Montgomery, at the time of paying this money, was satisfied that Mr. Mann had a right to the money, whose discharge he took for so great a sum, without any mention made of, or relation had to, the note, upon which it was due? So that, to read this note, and the receipts which were given for the money, as they are printed by order of the House of Commons, is almost alone sufficient evidence, to convince any man, that this money was paid for the use and benefit of Mr. Mann; and, that Montgomery, without being satisfied it was so, would hardly have paid such a sum of money, for which he had still been accountable.

I remember there was an objection made to something that dropped from Mr. Montgomery at the bar of the House, as if the five hundred pounds received by Mr. Mann, was more
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than a just share, arising from the profits of the contract.

In answer to this, I must observe, That the share reserved for Mr. Mann is stated by the commissioners of public accounts, to be a fifth part; and the share for Sir Alexander Murray, by the evidence of colonel Douglas, and the oath of Sir David Dalrymple, who was likewise sworn upon this account by the commissioners, to be a fourteenth part; and Sir Alexander Murray receiving, for his fourteenth part, two hundred pounds, proves the profit upon the whole to be about two thousand eight hundred pounds; which entitled the five principal partners to above five hundred pounds a-piece for their respective shares: but, having this occasion to mention the profits, it will not be improper to acquaint our readers, that each year's contract amounted to about twenty thousand pounds, that the profit upon the whole may not be thought so very exorbitant as it otherwise might appear.

We have heard of an objection raised from Mr. Mann's refusing to be a second time examined by the commissioners of public accounts; from whence a consciousness of guilt is inferred as if the cause was not able to abide a stricter examination.

In answer to this, it is first observable, That, if there be any weight in the objection, it could have no weight or influence in the House of Commons in convicting Mr. Walpole, because
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the complaint of Mr. Mann's refusal was not made to the house till after the whole proceeding was over and passed : but, if it makes any impression upon mens private opinions, it is necessary the world should know, that, when Mr. Mann went and voluntarily offered himself to be examined by the commissioners, after the deposition was made in favour of Mr. Walpole, Mr. Mann was examined and cross-examined by the commissioners upon his oath for above three hours ; from whence they formed the notable second deposition, that they thought worth presenting to the House of Commons : but, in forming this second deposition, they made themselves the sole judges of what should be inserted, and what omitted ; and thereby left out several things that were material to explain the other parts of the information.

This method of proceeding, Mr. Mann might well apprehend would tend more to ensnare him, than to set the matter in a true light ; and, by the accounts which we have heard of the methods that the commissioners took in their examinations, and reducing them afterwards into form, wherein, although they did add nothing, they took upon them to leave out as much as they pleased.

It is not therefore to be wondered at, that this gentleman was unwilling to subject himself to such methods of administering justice : but, if seven such ingenious persons were not
able

able, in three hours examination, to puzzle and confound an illiterate person, enough to draw from him any thing that did in the least affect Mr. Walpole, it will be very hard to make an inference to Mr. Walpole's prejudice because Mr. Mann, who was by law not subject to their jurisdiction, as having never been concerned in any public capacity, was unwilling to be examined upon his oath, after he had given them all the information that he could, and had submitted to a three hours examination the day before.

We have been very particular in laying this affair before the reader, that he might the better be able to form a right judgment on so remarkable a transaction in the life of a man that has made no inconsiderable figure in the British administration; for, though Sir Robert himself affected to treat this matter very lightly, and has been heard to say he did not think it any blot in his escutcheon, yet it is certain, that it has always been remembered to his disadvantage in point of honour.

Notwithstanding his enemies rejoiced at his disgrace, he had so many powerful friends about the court, that his interest suffered but little; and we find him soon after prime-minister to king George II. by whom, in the year 1742, he was created earl of Orford, and had a pension of four thousand pounds per annum granted him; which he did not long enjoy; for he

ROBERT WALPOLE. 141

he died in the month of March, 1745, after a very short illness.

His circumstances were not affluent, for he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependants to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.



THE LIFE OF

GEORGE ANSON.

THE ancestors of the late right honourable George lord Anson, have been seated in Staffordshire for many generations, till William Anson, esq; of Dunstan, having purchased the manor of Shugborough in that county, in the reign of king James I. made it, from that time, his chief residence.

His lordship was the second and youngest son of William Anson, esq; of Shuckborough (who died in 1720) by Elizabeth, sister to the countess of Macclesfield, and aunt to the present earl.

Mr. Anson, having very early devoted himself to the sea service, was made captain of the Weazle sloop in 1722; and, the year following, captain of the Scarborough man of war. On the breaking out of the late Spanish war, he was recommended to his late majesty for the command of a squadron destined to annoy the enemy in the South Seas; and, by an unfrequented navigation, to attack them with vigour in their remotest settlements. A design which, had it not met with unaccountable delays, would have amply answered the intention; and might have given, perhaps,
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Lord Inson.

an irretrievable blow to the Spanish American power.

Mr. Anson sailed from St. Helens on the eighteenth of September, 1740, in the *Censor*, of sixty guns, with the *Gloucester* and *Severn*, of fifty each, the *Pearl*, of forty, the *Wager* store-ship, and *Tryal* sloop. His departure having been retarded some months beyond the proper season, he did not arrive in the latitude of Cape Horn till about the middle of the vernal equinox, and in such tempestuous weather, that it was with much difficulty that his own ship, with the *Gloucester* and the *Severn*, could double that dangerous cape, and his strength was considerably diminished by the putting back of the *Severn* and *Pearl*, and the loss of the *Wager* store-ship. Yet, notwithstanding this disappointment, and the havoc that the scurvy had made among the ships that were left, he arrived at the fertile, though uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez.

Stopping at this island, repaired his damages and refreshed his men, with the above inconceivable armament, he kept, for eight months, the whole coast of Peru and Mexico in continual alarm, made several prizes, took and plundered the town of Lima, and, by his humane treatment of his prisoners, impressed on their minds a lasting view of British generosity.

At last, with the *Censor* only (the other two ships having been condemned) he traversed the vast extent of the Pacific Ocean,

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a three months voyage; in the course of which, his numbers were so much farther reduced by sickness, that it was with the utmost difficulty he reached the island of Tinian, one of the Ladrões; a place which, from the following luxurious description these voyagers have given of it, seems truly to be a terrestrial paradise.

THIS island lies in the latitude of 15. 8. North, and longitude from Acapulco 114. 50. W. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E.

The soil is every where dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation, occasions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises, by an easy slope, from the very beach where we watered to the middle of the island; though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted and traversed by gentle descents and vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by the different combinations of these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified by large lawns, which are covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them celebrated, either for their aspect or their fruit.

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The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods, in many places, clear of all bushes and underwoods; and the woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confused with straggling trees, but appearing as uniform as if laid out by art. Hence arose a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the mixture of these woods and lawns, and their various intersections with each other, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

The fortunate animals too, which, for the greatest part of the year, are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake, in some measure, of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery: for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black; and, though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the beauty and cheerfulness of the place.

The cattle on the island we computed were at least ten thousand; and we had no difficulty

in getting near them, as they were not shy of us. Our first method of killing them was shooting them ; but, at last, when, by accidents, we were obliged to husband our ammunition, our men ran them down with ease. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was believed by us to be much more easily digested than any we had ever met with.

The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewise run down with little trouble ; for they could scarce fly further than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them so much, that they could not readily rise again ; so that, aided by the openness of the woods, we could at all times furnish ourselves with whatever number we wanted.

Besides the cattle and poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs. These were most excellent food ; but, as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to shoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to a detachment that was then upon the island, amassing provisions for the garrison of Guam.

As these dogs had been purposely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us : but, tho' they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with so much fury, that they frequently destroyed them ; so that we, by degrees, lost the greatest part of them.

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But this place was not only extremely grateful to us from the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were most fortunately adapted to the cure of the sea-scurvy, which had so terribly reduced us; for in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree. There were, besides, guavoes, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians Rima, but by us the Bread-Fruit; for it was constantly eaten by us during our stay upon the island instead of bread; and so universally preferred to it, that no ship's bread was expended during that whole interval.

It grew upon a tree which was somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in shape rather elliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly and not in clusters.

This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full grown, but is still green; in which state its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke-bottom, and its texture is not very

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different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and an agreeable smell, not unlike that of a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes:

Besides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under; such as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerness, prompted thereto by the strong inclination which nature never fails of exciting in scorbutic disorders for these powerful specifics.

It will easily be conceived, from what already hath been said, that our cheer upon this island was in some degree luxurious, but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provision which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who eat of them; but, considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great quantity of wild fowl; for I must observe, that near the centre of the island there
were

were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention the whistling-plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

And now, perhaps, it may be wondered at, that an island, so excellently furnished with the conveniencies of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which, in some measure, depend upon this for support.

To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us, that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and, that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls: but a sickness raging amongst these islands, which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminished by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them, in a few years, died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever shown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it should seem, from what has been already said, that there were few

countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

These poor Indians might reasonably have expected, at the great distance from Spain where they are placed, to have escaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, so fatal to a large proportion of the human race : but it seems their remote situation could not protect them from sharing in the common destruction of the western world, all the advantage they received from their distance being only to perish an age or two later.

It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were banished to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was so great as what we have related above ; but, not to mention the concurrent assertion of our prisoners, and the commodiousness of the island, and its great fertility, there are still remains to be met with on the place, which evince it to have been once extremely populous : for there are, in all parts of the island, a great number of ruins of a very particular kind. They usually consist of two rows of square pyramidal pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet ; the pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high ; and, on the top of each of them, there is a semi-globe, with the flat part upwards ; the whole of the pillars and the semi-globe

globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented together and plaistered over.

If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the island indeed must have been extremely populous; for they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only who had engaged in some religious vow; and monastic institutions are often to be met with in many pagan nations. However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have been considerable: for, in many parts of the island, they are extremely thick planted, and sufficiently evince the great plenty of former inhabitants. But, to return to the present state of the island,

Having mentioned the conveniencies of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and provisions, the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded, I must now observe, that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fall, and which, though of a very short and almost momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreshing, and are, perhaps, one cause of the salubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was ob-

served to have upon us, in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This was so remarkable, that those among our officers, who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, who, besides a slight breakfast, made but one moderate repast a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons ; for, instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarce satisfied with three, and each of them so prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit : and yet our digestion so well corresponded with the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered or even loaded by this repletion ; for, after having, according to the custom of the island, made a large beef-breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable though somewhat tardy incident.

And now, having been thus large in my encomiums on this island, in which, however, I conceive I have not done it justice, it is necessary I should speak of those circumstances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility.

And, first, with respect to its water. I must own, that, before I had seen this spot, I did not conceive that the absence of running-water, of which it is entirely destitute, could have been so well replaced by any other means, as it is in this island ; for, though there are no streams, yet the water of the wells and springs
which

which are to be met with every where near the surface, is extremely good ; and, in the midst of the island, there are two or three considerable pieces of excellent water, whose edges are as neat and even, as if they had been basons purposely made for the decoration of the place. It must, however, be confessed, that, with regard to the beauty of the prospects, the want of rills and streams is a very great defect, not to be compensated either by large pieces of standing-water, or by the neighbourhood of the sea ; though that, by reason of the smallness of the island, generally makes a part of a very extensive view.

As to the residence upon the island, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vast number of muscitos, and various other species of flies, together with an insect called a tick, which, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently fasten upon our limbs and bodies, and, if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the skin and raise a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and scorpions; which we supposed were venomous, but none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be told. This is, the inconvenience of the road, and the little security there is, at some seasons, for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ships of burthen is at the south west end of the island.

In this place the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, opposite to a sandy bay, and about a mile and an half distant from the shore. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, renders it a very unsafe place to lie at. This is the season of the western monsoons, when, near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be confided in; and, what adds to the danger at these times, is, the excessive repidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the south east, between this island and that of Aguiguan, a small island near the southern extremity of Tinian.

This tide runs, at first, with a vast head and overfall of water, and occasions such a hollow and over-grown sea, as is scarcely to be conceived; so that we were under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though we were in a sixty gun ship.

In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a constant season of settled weather when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed; so that, during all that interval, it is as secure a road as could be wished for.

I shall

I shall only add, that the anchoring-bank is very shelving, and stretches along the south-west end of the island : and, that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks which is visible, and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land.

After thus long detaining our reader with this agreeable digression, we will return with him to our subject.

But here the commodore, and most of his people, were in great danger of being left for ever, or of being imprisoned or massacred by the neighbouring Spaniards; the Centurion being driven from her anchors, one night, in a violent storm, and, after nineteen days absence, being brought back with difficulty, by the few hands that were left on board.

Mr. Anson arrived at Macao, in China, in 1742, where having completely refitted his ship (as was generally supposed, for an European voyage), he steered back as far as the Philippin islands, with a view of meeting the Acapulco ship; a plan as wisely laid as it was wisely conducted. After much beating about and uncertainty, he at length got sight of the ship of which he had been in search, and soon after came up with and took her. This crowned his voyage, and greatly enriched

himself and his crew. With a handful of men and boys (of which two only were killed) he made this vast acquisition, and took three times his own number of prisoners.

He returned with his prize to China, where he obtained, with ease, at an audience of the viceroy of Canton, an exemption from the emperor's usual duties, thus supporting the honour of his majesty's flag in those far distant regions.

On his arrival in England (by the Cape of Good Hope) after near four years absence, in June 1744, he found that the hand of Providence seemed still to protect him, having sailed, in a fog, through the midst of a French fleet, then cruising in the Channel. In short, through the whole of this remarkable voyage, he experienced the truth of that saying of Teucer, which he afterwards chose for his motto, " Nil est desperandum."

Soon after his return he was appointed rear admiral of the Blue, and one of the lords of the admiralty. In April 1745 he was made rear admiral of the white; and, in July, 1746, vice admiral of the Blue. He was also chosen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkshire. That winter he commanded the Channel squadron, and had not duke d'Anville's fleet, returning with disgrace from North America, been accidentally apprized of his station, his long and tempestuous cruise would then have been attended with his usual success. However, in the ensuing summer, he

was

was once more crowned with wealth and conquest. Being then on board the *Prince George*, of ninety guns, in company with admiral Warren, and twelve ships more, he intercepted, off Cape Finisterre, on the third of May, 1747, a powerful fleet, bound from France to the East and West Indies; and, by his valour and conduct, again enriched himself and officers, and strengthened the British navy, by taking six men of war, and four East indiamen, not one of that fleet escaping. The speech of the French admiral, M. Jonquiere, on presenting his sword to the conqueror, deserves to be recorded: “*Monsieur, vous avez vaincu l’Invincible, et la Gloire vous suit,*” pointing to the two ships so named.

For these repeated services, the late king rewarded him with a peerage, on the thirteenth of June, by the title of lord Anson, baron of Soberton in Hants. On the fifteenth of July, in the same year, he was appointed vice admiral of the red; and, on the death of sir John Norris, he was made vice admiral of England.

In April, 1748, his lordship married the honourable Miss Yorke (eldest daughter of the present earl of Hardwicke, then lord high chancellor) who died in 1760, without issue.

In May, 1748, he was appointed admiral of the Blue; in which year he commanded the squadron that convoyed the late king to and from Holland, and ever after constantly attended

158 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

attended his majesty on his going abroad, and on his return to England.

In June, 1751, his lordship was appointed first lord of the admiralty, in which post he continued (with a very short intermission) till his death.

In 1752 he was appointed one of the lords justices, as he also was in 1754. That year, on the rupture with France, so active and spirited were his measures, that a fleet, superior to the enemy, was equipped and manned with amazing expedition.

In 1758, being then admiral of the White, having hoisted his flag on board the Royal George, of one hundred guns, he sailed from Spithead on the first of June, with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke commanding under him, and, by cruizing continually before Bréſt, he covered the descents that were made that summer at St. Maloes, Cherbourg, &c. After this, he was appointed admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleets.

The last service his lordship performed at sea was the convoying to England our present queen; for which purpose he sailed from Harwich in the Charlotte yacht, on the seventh of August, 1761; and that day month, after a long and tempestuous voyage, landed the princess at the same place.

At length, having been some time in a languishing state of health, he was advised to the Bath waters, from which he was thought to

GEORGE ANSON. 159

have received benefit ; but, soon after his return, being seized suddenly, just after walking in his garden, he died at his seat at Moor-Park, in Hertfordshire, on the sixth of June, 1762.

By his lordship's will, great part of his fortune devolved to his sister's son, George Adams, esq. member for Saltash, in Cornwall.

His elder brother, Thomas Anson, esq. is member in the present parliament for Litchfield.

Among the many services that will immortalize the name of Anson, his discreet and fortunate choice of officers is none of the least, as will be allowed by all who remember that the late captain Saumarez, (who was killed in 1747, being then captain of the Nottingham) and the present Sir Charles Saunders, Sir Percy Brett, commodore Keppel, captain Dennis, &c. were his lieutenants in the Centurion.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE BERKELY.

GEORGE BERKELY was the son of a clergyman in Ireland, of a small living, but at the same time remarkable for his learning and piety, he therefore gave his son the best education his circumstances would admit of; the languages, ancient and modern, he taught him himself, at home; and, when fitted for the university, taxed his little fortune, in order to send him to Trinity college, Dublin.

Here he soon began to be looked upon, as the greatest genius, or the greatest dunce, in the whole university; those who were but slightly acquainted with him, took him for a fool; but those who shared his most intimate friendship, looked upon him as a prodigy of learning and good nature. Whenever he appeared abroad from his studies, which was but seldom, he was surrounded by a crowd of the idle or the facetious, who followed him, not to be improved, but to laugh. Of this he frequently complained, but there was no redress; the more he fretted, he became only the more ridiculous.



A. Serenius fecit.

Berkeley B. of Cloyne

An action of his, however, soon made him more truly ridiculous than before; curiosity leading him one day, in the crowd, to go to see an execution, he returned home pensive and melancholy, and could not forbear reflecting on what he had seen. He desired to know what were the pains and symptoms a malefactor felt, upon such an occasion, and communicated to his chum the cause of his strange curiosity; in short, he resolved to tack himself up, for a trial, at the same time desiring his companion to take him down at a signal agreed upon.

The companion (whose name was Contarine) was to try the same experiment himself immediately after. Berkeley was, accordingly, tied up to the ceiling, and the chair taken from under his feet; but soon losing the use of his senses, his companion, it seems, waited a little too long for the signal agreed upon, and our enquirer had like to have been hanged in good earnest; for as soon as he was taken down, he fell, senseless and motionless, upon the floor. After some trouble, however, he was brought to himself; and observing his state, "Bless my heart, Contarine," says he, "you have quite rumbled my band." When it came to Contarine's turn to go up, he quickly evaded the proposal; the other's danger had quite abated his curiosity.

Still, however, Berkeley proceeded in his studies with unabated ardour; a fellowship in
that

that college is attained by superior learning only; the candidates are examined in the most public manner, in an amphitheatre erected for that purpose, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry of the city are present upon the occasion. This examination he passed with the utmost applause, and was made a fellow, the only reward of learning that kingdom has to bestow.

Metaphysical studies are generally the amusement of the indolent and the inquisitive; his business, as a fellow, allowed him sufficient leisure, and his genius prompted him to scrutinize into every abstruse subject. He soon, therefore, was regarded as one of the best metaphysicians in Europe, his logic was looked upon rather as the work of a man skilled in metaphysics, than in the dialectic of the schools; his treatise upon matter was also thought to be the most ingenious paradox that ever amused learned leisure, and many were the answers it procured amongst all the literati of Europe.

In this he denies the non existence of matter, both from our being incapable of having any idea of the substratum of sensible qualities, which are every moment presented to our senses, or our imaginations, and from the contradictions that the allowing of matter will produce in our reasonings upon the Deity. We can't omit a jest upon this occasion; walking one day in one of the squares, and intent upon something else, he ran his nose against a
post,

post, which stunned him for some time; "Never mind it, doctor," says a sophister who was by, "there's no Matter in it."

His fame as a scholar, but more his conversation as a man of wit and good nature, soon procured him the friendship and esteem of every person of fortune and understanding; among the rest, Swift, that lover yet derider of human nature, became one of the most intimate, and it was by his recommendation that he was introduced to the earl of Peterborough, who made him his chaplain, and took him as his companion in a tour which he made thro' Europe.

The earl of Peterborough's character is well known; he was as much an hero as ever existed in romance; though short of stature, he was ever the most vigorous both in the field and in the council, and spent his fortune, which was considerable, in schemes for the honour of his own country, and to relieve the distress of others. With such a companion Berkeley found every happiness; he was instructed by his experience, and refined by his conversation; and the man who before had spent the greatest part of his life with books, now was taught to be the fine gentleman, and discovered an exquisite natural taste, as well as an immense degree of erudition.

His letter to Mr. Pope, from Italy, is fine and poetical, and shews that the writer's imagination was as luxuriant as his sagacity was quick and piercing.

Some

Some time after his return he was promoted to a deanery, in which situation he wrote his *Minute Philosopher*, one of the most elegant and genteel defences of that religion which he was born to vindicate, both by his virtues and his ingenuity. It was at this time, also, that he attempted to establish an university for our American colonies, in Bermudas, one of the Summer Islands. Doctor Depusch, an excellent musician, and some others of great abilities, were engaged in this design, and actually embarked in order to put it in execution; but the ship being cast away, the design unhappily was discontinued, and Berkely left to contrive something else to the advantage of his country.

He was also deeply interested in a scheme for promoting the English language, by a society of wits and men of genius, established for that purpose, in imitation of the academies of France; in this design Swift, Bolingbroke, and others, were united; but the whole dropt by the death of queen Anne, and the discontinuance of Harley from being prime minister.

His friendships and connexions, however, did not, as was the case with Swift and some others, prevent his promotion; he was made bishop of Cloyne, and sure none ever had juster pretensions to the mitre than he. No man was more assiduous or punctual in his duty, none exacted it more strictly from his
inferiour

inferior clergy, yet no bishop was ever more beloved by them. He spent his time with the utmost cheerfulness, innocence, and humanity; the meanest peasant within ten miles of his seat was familiar with him; those of them that wanted, shared his bounty, and those that did not, had his friendship and advice. The country, which was desolate and unimproved, he took the utmost pains to improve, and attempted to set an example of the proper methods of agriculture to the farmer, as he had before of piety and benevolence to the whole kingdom.

Metaphysical studies were his amusement, and the dispensations of charity he looked upon as his duty. He now examined a treatise he had long before written, entitled, "*De motui sine motus principio et natura, et de causa communicationis motuum*." In this he found much to be reprehended, and much to be added, and freely told his friends his opinion. In this, however, he shews the obscurities, and even the absurdities, into which all abstract writers upon this subject had involved themselves; that gravity, attraction, &c. are nothing but occult qualities, which, abstracted from their supposed effects, can neither be explained nor understood; nay, that sir Isaac Newton himself does not set up attraction as a quality truly and physically inherent in matter, but only as a mathematical hypothesis.

Such

Such were his opinions to the last; but the opinions of metaphysicians he, at last, began to condemn, and to doubt of the certainty, not only of every argument upon this subject, but even of the science. He therefore turned his thoughts to more beneficial studies, to politics and medicine, and gave instances in both of what he could have done, had he made either his particular study.

In politics, a pamphlet published by him, entitled, *The Querist*, is a fine instance of his skill, and was attended with some beneficial circumstances to his native country. We shall present the reader with a specimen of his abilities, by a short extract from it; as every thing wrote by him deserves the public notice.

Whether it may not concern the wisdom of the legislature, to interpose in the making of fashions; and not leave an affair of so great influence to the management of women and fops, vintners and taylor's?

Whether reasonable fashions are a greater restraint on freedom, than those which are unreasonable?

Whether a general good taste in a people would not greatly conduce to their thriving? and whether an uneducated gentry are not the greatest of national evils?

Whether customs and fashions do not supply the place of reason in the vulgar of all ranks? Whether, therefore, it doth not very
much

much import, that they should be wisely framed?

Whether it would not be an unhappy turn in our gentlemen, if they should take more thought to create an interest to themselves in this or that county or borough, than to promote the real interest of their country?

Whether some way might not be found for making criminals useful in public works, instead of sending them either to America, or the other world?

Whether, as our exports are lessened, we ought not to lessen our imports? And whether these will not be lessened as our demands, and these as our wants, and these as our customs or fashions? Of how great consequence are our fashions, therefore, to the public?

Whether a woman of Fashion ought not, therefore, to be declared a public enemy?

Whether our peers and gentlemen are born legislators? or, Whether that faculty be acquired by study and reflection?

Whether a wise state hath any interest nearer at heart than the education of youth?

Whether the gentleman of estate hath a right to be idle? and, Whether he ought not to be the great promoter and director of industry, among his neighbours?

Whether, if women had no portions, we should then see so many unhappy and unfruitful marriages?

Whether the credit of the public funds be not a mine of gold to England? and, Whether

any

any step that should lessen this credit, ought not to be dreaded ?

Whether it would not be better for this island, if all the fine folk of both sexes were shipped off to remain in foreign countries, rather than that they should spend their estates at home in foreign luxury, and spread the contagion thereof through their native land ?

What right an eldest son hath to the worst education ?

What folly it is to build fine houses, or establish lucrative posts and large incomes, under the notion of providing for the poor ?

Whether he who is chained in a gaol or dungeon, hath not, for the time, lost his liberty ; and, if so, whether temporal slavery be not already admitted among us ?

Whether fools do not make fashions, and wise men follow them ?

Whether it would not be an horrible thing to see our matrons make dress and play their chief concern ?

Whether faculties are not enlarged and improved by exercise ?

These queries made a vast noise in the kingdom which gave them birth, and for which they were designed. They were read, approved for the most part, and forgotten. He still, however, retained his love of mankind, and studied every method to make them better, or more happy.

His

His treatise on Tar-water rendered him more popular than any of his preceding productions, at the same time that it was the most whimsical of them all. Here he pretends to prove, a priori, the effects of this, sometimes, valuable medicine; but then he extends them to every, and even opposite, disorders; as, to use his own similitude, warm water will at once make hot water more cold, and cold water more warm. However, this treatise introduced a new fashion into the medicinal regimen, and almost every creature began to drink tar-water, until time had discovered its inefficacy.

The public were long undeceived, before his lordship, who was the inventor, could be so. He had built an hospital, at his own expence, near his gate, and to it all the poor were welcome; he attended them himself as physician, dosed them with tar-water, of the virtues of which he was entirely confident; and took as much pains with the poorest creature in his hospital, as the very nurse whom he had placed as an attendant.

His intention in this particular cannot be sufficiently applauded, though, perhaps, the success might not have answered his expectations. Perhaps he carried his veneration for tar-water to an excess; he drank it in abundance himself, and attempted to mend the constitutions of his children by the same re-

gimen: this, however, he could never effect; and perhaps his desire of improving their health, and their understanding, at which he laboured most assiduously, might have impaired both. But his faults, if we know of any, all proceeded from motives of humanity, benevolence, and good-nature.

He preserved the closest intimacy with the gentlemen of the neighbourhood; and, while he cultivated the duties of his station, he was not unmindful of the innocent amusements of life: music he was particularly fond of, and always kept one or two exquisite performers to amuse his hours of leisure.

His income was entirely contented with, and, when once offered a bishopric much more beneficial than that he possessed, he declined it, with these words, "I love the neighbours, and they love me; why, then, should I begin, in my old days, to form new connections, and tear myself from those friends, whose kindness to me is the greatest happiness I enjoy."

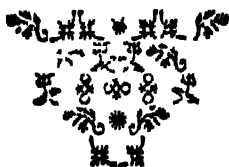
Finding his health and constitution impaired beyond the power of medicine, or his own tar-water, to restore, he removed to Oxford; an university he always loved, and at which he received a great part of his education.

After a short passage, and a very pleasant journey, he arrived at this famous seat of learning; here he was visited by many of his former

GEORGE BERKLEY. 171

former friends and admirers; but the certainty there was of speedily losing him, greatly damped the pleasure they would otherwise have had in his company. In a short time after his arrival he expired, greatly regretted, by the poor, whom he loved, and the learned, whom he had improved.

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Extract of a Letter from a Clergyman in the Country to the Publisher.

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